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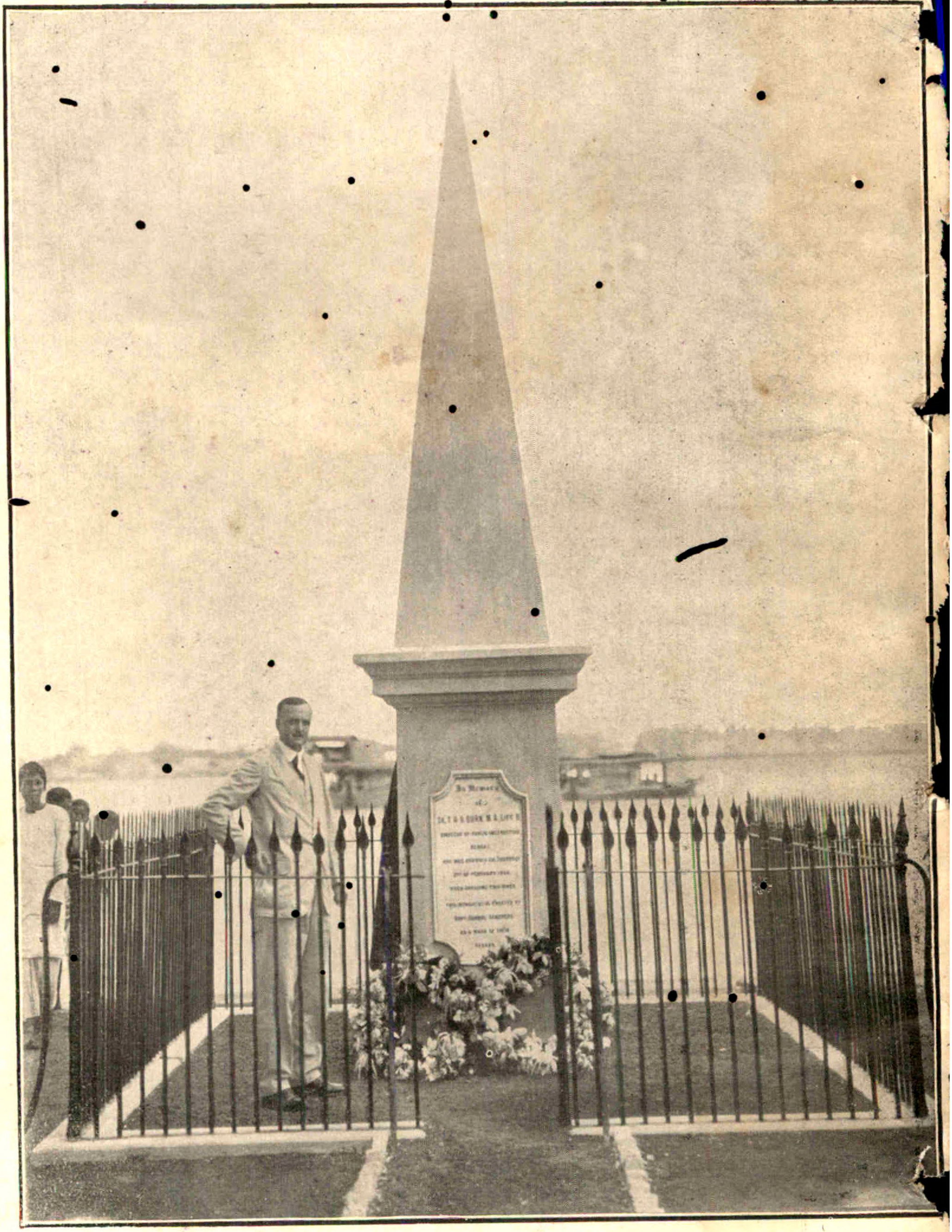

In Memory of Dr. T. O. D. Dunn

" Can storied urn, or animated bust,
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath ? "

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1925

HISTORICAL RECORDS AT GOA

The Portuguese were not the only European nation whom the Angria had offended, the Dutch and the English Merchantmen also had suffered at his hands and they made repeated attempts to reduce his power and destroy his fleet. "In November, 1712, Kanhoji captured the (English) Governor of Bombay's armed Yacht, together with the *Anne* Ketch of Carwar." About the same time he had inflicted serious loss on a Portuguese fleet and the Portuguese at once wrote to the Bombay Government proposing a joint attack on Angria. Governor Aislabi preferred peaceful negotiation and declined their offer. Kanhoji was either pacifically inclined or he dreaded an Anglo-Portuguese alliance and friendly relations were soon established between him and the English Government of Bombay. Peace however did not last long and the Angria again resumed his hostilities. Aislabie's successor Charles Boone was a man of more resolution and warlike disposition. On his arrival at Bombay he set himself to the difficult task of rendering the Indian Ocean safe for the East India Company's ships and fitted out a fleet for the annihilation of Angria and other sea powers of the Malabar coast. As a detailed account of Boone's expeditions is available to all English-knowing readers in the pages of Downing, Low and Biddulph, it is needless to repeat it here, it may be mentioned that his efforts met with no more success than those made by the Dutch and the Portuguese before him. In 1721 a squadron under the command of Matthews arrived at Bombay. Matthews was a naval leader of considerable experience and had served in Europe under Admiral Byng. His presence at Bombay naturally infused fresh enthusiasm and vigour into the heart of the Bombay government and they decided to make fresh attempts against the Angria and recover their lost prestige. But their recent experience had taught the English seamen to respect the Angria's power and ability and they deemed it unwise to launch upon a fresh enterprise against his seagirt rocky strongholds single-handed. Seven years previously Governor Aislabie had rejected the proffered co-operation of the Portuguese. But in 1721 his successors had grown wiser and had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Goa Government against their common enemy the Maratha Admiral of Colaba. The full text of the treaty has been published by Biker and an English translation is appended below.[1]

There will be an offensive and defensive alliance in this (continent of) Asia against all Asiatic (powers) that may be enemies of the two crowns of Portugal and Great Britain, except the Mughal Emperor and the kings of Persia, Arab and China. The two nations will immediately commence a vigorous war against the Angria. In concluding any treaty the Angria will not be heard and neither of the allies will listen to anything touching peace unless the term proposed is simultaneously presented to both the allies and nothing will be decided without the compliance of both the nations.

2. If in a given case the enemy of one of the two crowns happens to be the friend of the other, the alliance will be only a defensive one. But neither party should fail on any pretext to help the other when attacked in case of any invasion.

3. As regards the union of the British and the Portuguese forces for operation by land as well as by the sea, the same

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[1] Biker, Tomo III, pp. 242-244.

rule will operate between the two powers as was followed in the last war against Spain, to wit, the Generals of the two nations shall command on alternate days, provided that the Viceroy does not come to the camp and in the same manner the troops of the two crowns shall occupy the place of honour, one in one battlefield and the other in the next.

4. That the auxiliary troops that may be sent for succour (reinforcement) in all detachments and on all occasions of fighting shall be commanded by officers holding higher commissions whether they are English or Portuguese.

5. The auxiliary troops shall be paid and maintained by their own sovereign as well as on land as in the sea.

6. That all that may be captured in this war in the sea by the two allied nations on the same occasion, shall be by them divided [not excluding] even the munitions and things of importance, the said spoils being first conducted to a port in the Portuguese dominion, and next to a port in the dominion of Great Britain, and all other things will go alternately (to the ports of the Portuguese and the English). The same practice will be pursued on the land only with this difference that the spoils will be taken to the camp where everything except cattle will be equally divided between the two nations. The cattle will be divided by the officers and soldiers of the two nations.

7. That in case goods belonging to any of the (two) nations enter the ports or strongholds that may be taken from the said enemy (Angria), they will not pay duties for the commodities they may carry there, but duties will be taken only for what is sold in the said ports and strongholds.

8. That each nation shall put in the field two thousand infantry with officers in proportion, and with cavalry that may be ready. If necessary a bigger body of infantry will be put in the field by both the parties. In the sea five Pallas will be put by each side with smaller vessels as may be necessary.

9. Each corps whether on land or on the sea shall spend (use) munitions on its sovereign's account. In case one of them requires while the other possesses it, the necessary quantity shall be given at a just price.

10. That the fortress of Colaba and the district under its jurisdiction shall belong to the Crown of Portugal, the subjects of Great Britain shall maintain there a house like it (the fortress ?) The fortress of Griem and the district under its jurisdiction shall belong to the Crown of Great Britain and the subjects of the Crown of Portugal shall maintain there a house like it. In case the subjects of the Crown of Great Britain desire to demolish the said fortress of Griem, it will be done by both the nations and in that case the artillery and the munitions shall be partitioned by the two nations and an equivalent (share) will be given to the subjects of Great Britain out of Colaba and its jurisdiction, in which the Island of Candrim (Kenery) will be counted.

11. That all soldiers who may desert from one dominion to the other shall be restored without taking them into service. More than one representation from the governor of the country whence they have fled to the governor of the country where they have fled, forgiving the deserters their offence will be necessary for their restoration.

12. If spoils are taken from the country of either of the nations, it will be after proper proofs have been produced at once restored to the owner.

13. That those deserters, who may seek the protection of either of the crowns, after committing in the country they had left, a capital offence, shall not be restored.

14. That after these fourteen articles, of the alliance have been ratified the execution of the project will be undertaken, reserving for Their Majesties of Portugal and Great Britain for ever all the rights they claim.—Goa, 20th August, 1721, João Rodrigues Machado.

Biddulph writes: "Long before Matthew's arrival, negotiations had been opened between the Portuguese Viceroy, Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro, and the Bombay Council for a joint attack on Colaba. Through the management of Mr. Robert Cowan, who had been deputed in March to Goa for the purpose, a treaty of mutual co-operation had been drawn up by which the Bombay Council undertook to furnish two thousand men and five ships. The Portuguese authorities undertook to furnish an equal force.

But the joint expedition was not destined to achieve better success. The morale of the Bombay men "habituated to defeat in their attacks on Angrian strongholds" was naturally not very high. The first serious reverse so infuriated Matthews, always violent and overbearing, that he threw the whole blame on his Portuguese allies and wantonly insulted the General of the North. His demeanour towards the Viceroy could hardly be called courteous or even polite. It is needless to say that the highly bred and proud Portuguese officials could not tolerate the ill-manners of the English Commodore. "A little more enterprise on the part of the Mahrattas" observes Biddulph, "would have destroyed the whole force."

Kanhoji was not a mere seaman, he was a diplomat of no mean ability and he did not fail to exploit the difference among his enemies. We are told by Biddulph—"Angria saw his opportunity of breaking up the alliance and opened negotiations with him. On the 17th, the Viceroy wrote to the English, proposing a suspension of arms. With a bad grace they were obliged to consent, seeing in the negotiation, which was against the compact that neither should treat separately, further confirmation of their suspicion of treachery. Angria granted the Portuguese full reparation for injuries, and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with them. The English were left to shift for themselves. Full of wrath, they embarked at once, and sailed for Bombay on the 28th."

Let us now hear the other ally. On the 14th September, 1722, the Viceroy Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro addressed a letter to the King of Portugal about the war with the Angria in which he offers the following explanation for his failure :[1]

"As the Angria got the information (of the intended expedition) months before (it was undertaken), he opened his treasury and invited his relatives and allies, who are more powerful than he and solicited Shahu Raja (son of Sambagi who, in the days of Viceroy Conde de Alvor, waged a cruel war simultaneously against Goa and its islands, Salcete[2] and Bardes, and all our strongholds of the North) (to help him). Before I reached Chaul, Pilagi Zodô (Pilaji Jadhava) came to help him with two thousand cavalry besides a force of infantry. Notwithstanding his opposition, I fixed my camp and fought several actions with reciprocal fortune inclined to our favour. A few days after seven thousand cavalry arrived with Baji Rao, the Generalissimo of Shahu Raja, and subsequently more cavalry came and their number exceeded twenty-five thousand. No pitched battle was fought between the two armies not only because I was laid down with a severe fever that then raged in our camp and which aggravated so much that I was compelled to withdraw to my ship, but also because the said Generalissimo invited me to conclude a peace. In these circumstances as his army was much bigger than ours, and I was in the abovementioned condition, I considered it prudent to accept his proposal and I concluded the treaty (with articles) a copy of which is herewith sent. The said Baji Rao, perhaps at the instance of the Angria, was unwilling to conclude a treaty with the English and I did not come to terms with the Angria directly but with Shahu Raja."

So the Viceroy had observed the letter of the treaty of alliance though it was certainly violated in spirit, but probably he had no other alternative. He was no friend of the Angria and long before the joint expedition was ready ; Angria had sent him a proposal of peace through the General of the North.[1] He had been so inclined the Viceroy could certainly secure favourable terms without shedding a drop of Portuguese blood and without spending a *rei* of Portuguese money. His sincerity therefore was above suspicion. A student of Maratha History cannot be take notice of one fact in this connection. Whereas Balaji Baji Rao invited the English to join him in an expedition for the ruin of Tulaji, son of Kanhoji, Baji Rao stood firmly by Tulaji's father when attacked by the allied Anglo-Portuguese army. Both the chiefs still remembered that they served a common master and the same empire.

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[1] Biker, Tomo III, pp. 300-301.

[2] This is different from Salsette near Bombay.

After Kanhoji's death, the reputation of his house was maintained by Shekoji, Sambhaji, Tulaji and Manaji. But there was no unity among the brothers and their disunion ultimately caused their ruin.

From a manuscript in the public library of Evora quoted by Ismael Gracias in his *Catalogo dos Livros do Assentamento da Gente de Guerra que vẽio do Reino para a India desde 1731 até 1811* it appears that a Portuguese fleet that had left the mother country in the previous year encountered in 1739 Sambhaji Angria's fleet of seven Pals and ten Gallivats and inflicted a defeat on it near the southern coast 13′-54″. Marquis of Louriçal reported on the 3rd January, 1742 another victory against Sambhaji's fleet on the 22nd of November, 1741, in the same letter the Marquis tells us that a vessel belonging to Labourdannais's squadron was captured by the Angria while going south from Goa and conducted to Rajapur. These victories however did not render the sea sufficiently safe for Portuguese Merchantmen, for in 1740 the Angria had destroyed a Portuguese fleet (Diogo da Costa, *Relação das Guerras da India* quoted in Teixeira de Argao's *Descripção das Moedas, Tomo* III) and on the 12th of September, 1744, the Senate of Daman represented to the Goa authorities that they were suffering terribly on account of the Angria's depredations. (Moniz, *Noticias Documentos para a Historia de Damão*, Tomo I). So many naval actions between the Portuguese and the Angria's fleet are mentioned; that space forbids even a brief notice of them here.

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[1] Danvers, Portuguese in India, Vol. II, p. 391.

But it will be a mistake to think that the Angria brothers had always been unfriendly towards the Portuguese. With the death of Kanhoji and the gradual transfer of the Chhatrapati's authority to the Peshwa's hands, the relation between the hereditary Admiral and the hereditary Prime Minister became more and more strained. It appears from the letters in the eighth volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* that while Chimnaji Appa was engaged in the memorable siege of Bassein both Manaji and Sambhaji were carrying on friendly correspondence with the Portuguese, and there is reason to believe the Portuguese got from time to time welcome supplies of provision from Sambhaji. On the 2nd of December, 1741, the Marquis of Louriçal wrote a letter to Sambhaji Angria evidently in response to his request for the conclusion of a treaty of alliance:

"The letter dated the 12th of November, that I received on the 25th of the same month, gave me much pleasure as I found that Your Honour remembers the friendly relations that existed between me when for the first time I governed this Majestic State and your father the great Canogi Angria and as in those days I had so many experiences of the firmness of his word I hope that Your Honour also will show the same fidelity and sincerity that I may on my departure convey to the feet of the throne of the King of Portugal my master." The Viceroy requested Shambhaji to depute a reliable person to Goa (who will always be well received) for concluding a treaty against their common enemies. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo IX, fol. 148).[1]

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[1] Volume IX of Reis Visinhos is so much damaged that only a few letters could be with difficulty deciphered.

From Sambhaji let us turn to his brothers Tulaji and Manaji of whom we find the following estimate in the Report of the Marquis of Alornas.

"The Angrias.........by their piracies rose to such power that to-day they are dreaded and respected by all. These two brothers (have) divided their dominion in two parts. The first called Tulagy Angria who has made his headquarters at Gheria is the nearest neighbour to Goa and is very powerful. The second called Managy Angria has established himself at Calaba near Bombay. The latter, (who) is near the Province of the North, has his dominions encircled by the possessions of Nana and has always solicited our friendship and desires anxiously that we should recover that province so that he may have in us a better neighbour than the Marathas from whom he has received continuous insults. Since I arrived here, there was not a single occasion when he did not offer me his maritime forces for some enterprise principally against Nana. Never did I give any positive reply nor omit to thank him for his good wishes and I was keeping up friendly correspondence with him. I did not (venture to) enter into negotiations with him, for I happened to know that he is always drunk and does not know how to read or write. All his negotiations are made through his Brahmins who dominate and hoodwink him, for he cannot by himself examine or decide them, and any negotiation, had it been proposed to him, would be known to Nana through these (same) Brahmins. In these circumstances, I do not know under which class, that of friends or that of enemies, to place this chieftain, but it is safest to count him a neutral so long as his difference with Nana lasts.

During the last four years Tulagy Angria has proposed peace on several occasions for seeing the fair success that Divine Providence gave us against the Bhonsla, he proposed to me that we should both unite to attack the common enemy. I replied that if through God's grace we had obtained what we wanted without his help, we needed it much less now. When the French squadron came to winter in this port, he feared that we might come against Gheria in alliance with the French and persistently repeated the same proposal and further extended it so that he not only solicited peace with us but also wanted that I should act as a mediator for the treaty that he contemplated with the French. From this I perceived that in this proposal it was fear that prompted him rather than a desire for peace.

When reinforcement arrived in 1748, supposing it of greater strength than it really was, he urged me anew for an alliance soliciting from me help for a united attack on the fort of Monsurem, which place the Bhonsla had taken from him by surprise a short while ago, and desiring that I should sell him the stronghold of Neutim, and the Kailim river which he had lately conquered. This proposal I at once rejected on various pretexts, for the place is only ten leagues from the Bar of Goa and because the neighbourhood of the Angria is more perilous than that of the Bhonsla. I listened to his other proposals being certain that they would have no effect. I replied that as the expedition would be to his interest only and not to ours, he must pay the expenses of the Fleet and the munitions. He generously said that he was ready to meet all the costs and enquired about the amount to remit it. I asked of him two hundred thousand rupees to which he replied that he would at once put himself in the field in order to march, that I should send the reinforcement, and added that what touched the payment of expenses between friends could be adjusted after the action, which was the most clever way of saying that he would not pay anything, and as I perceived this I kept him in suspense about this negotiation without definitely concluding it either way. In the meantime he paid our vessels some attention. His envoy is actually waiting for our answers and the final conclusion (of the treaty). Your Excellency will find the proposal for peace he made in the Secretariat and whatever it may be, Your Excellency may be sure that it will not have more duration, firmness and subsistence than the opportunity it offers to the interest of this chieftain and whatever may be the promises and oaths of treaty there is no faith nor law that predominates his convenience."

The Marquis counselled his successor to advance a loan to Tulaji and thereby purchase the security of the Portuguese Merchantmen.

Apart from the drunkenness of Manaji and the untrustworthiness of Tulaji there was another impediment, by no means trifling, that stood in the way of a Portuguese alliance with the Angrias against the dreaded Peshwa of Poona. By the fifth article of their capitulation in 1740 (of Bassein) the Portuguese had undertaken to help the Peshwa with their fleet if he waged a war against the Angria.

A treaty was concluded with Tulaji five years after the Marquis of Alorna's departure from India, on the 5th November, 1755. Tulaji stood in sore need of an ally, as the Peshwa was determined to effect his ruin. The Angria chieftain tried his best to conciliate the English at this crisis, but the Bombay Government, now conscious of their increased strength refused to 'take passes of any Indian nation.' Tulaji had no other alternative but to turn to his other European neighbour the Portuguese and his approaches were not repulsed by the ruling Viceroy, the Conde de Alva, the only Portuguese Viceroy who was killed in action on the Indian soil. A treaty was accordingly concluded. The text may not prove altogether uninteresting to a student of Maratha history although the purport of the treaty is already well known.

I. The Most Illustrious and the Most Excellent Sr. D. Luiz Mascarenhas, Conde de Alva, Viceroy and Captain General of India, having attended to the demonstration with which His Highness Tullagi Angria Sarguel sent to represent what pleasure he will derive from peace and amity with the

Majestic State and having expressed his genuine repentance for the past discords has forgotten them all and conceded to him (Angria) his (Viceroy's) protection and support.

II. To prevent the peril with which His Highness (O Grandioso) Tullagi Angria Sarquel finds himself threatened in (his) war with Balaji Bagi Rao, the Most Illustrious and the Most Excellent Sr. Count Viceroy grants him a reinforcement of five hundred men to be employed principally in the defence of his stronghold and to be quartered in his Capital at Griem, and never on any occasion should the corps of reinforcement be separated without the order and consent of its Commandant.

III. His Highness Tullagi Angria Sarquel will pay the same troops punctually through his Estate in accordance with the lists of pay that will have to be given him by the Matricula geral of the State, copies of which will be taken by the Commandant.

IV. He is equally bound to quarter the troops with all possible convenience in the fortress of Griem, in separate places from Hindus and Muhammadans, in conformity with the mode of living of the Christians, and they will have the necessary liberty for the exercise of the Catholic religion and the cult Divine.

V. The necessary foods and provisions will be supplied them at the order of His Highness Angria Sarquel at the price current in this city of which an authentic report also will have to be submitted and as porks, kids, wheat, baked rice (arrozcozido) and cocoanut oil cannot be obtained in his territories, these will be transported from this city to the said stronghold in a corresponding ship supplied by His Highness Tullagi Angria Sarquel.

VI. Payment shall be made to the officers of the troops in this city to enable them to purchase necessary provision for their subsistence and it shall be transported in accordance with the preceding article. His Highness Tullagi

Angria shall be obliged to receive all our munitions and to return the same quantity without any diminution.

VII. His Highness Tullagi Angria shall pay to the Fazenda real two lakhs of Rupees.

VIII. To assure the last and other articles of the treaty discussed, the abovementioned envoys shall remain as hostages in the city till the return of the troops that may be sent as reinforcement at the end of the present summer.

IX. On the payment of the first (instalment of) one hundred thousand Rupees in the Fazenda real the Majestic State shall immediately send one company of Grenadiers to reinforce the said stronghold of Griem, and on the payment of the second (instalment of) (of the same sum of) one hundred thousand Rupees at the latest twenty days after (the first payment) as His Highness Tullagi Angria Sarquel is bound (to make), the rest of the reinforcement shall go.

X. The Portuguese will not fight with the English in the sea to effect the introduction of these troops in the stronghold of Griem, for that will be an infraction of the peace existing between the Portuguese and the English both in Europe and in Asia.

XI. Another copy of this treaty shall be made with the same terms and after both have been confirmed by signatures and seals, one shall be sent to be kept in the Secretariat of the Majestic State and the other shall be sent to His Highness Tullagi Angria Sarquel, having in this form settled about the despatch of the auxiliary troops the benefit of this treaty will be an efficacious means for a firm friendship between the contracting parties. Drawn in the Secretary of State's office and signed on the 5th of November. 1755. Seal of the Royal Arms. Belchoir José Vaz de Carvalho. Ramagi Ráo Rane Canó Patna—Custangi Zaetapurcar.[1]

In the negotiations of this treaty one Ismael Khan (possibly the Governor of Goddo mentioned by the Marquis of Alorna) seems to have played an important part. (See Tulaji's letters. Biker, Tomo VII; pp. 39-42.)

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[1] Biker, Tomo VII, pp. 36-38.

The treaty was signed on the fifth of November and it speaks volumes for the efficiency of the Peshwa's intelligence department that he obtained so early information about it that he was able to send a protest on the ninth, only four days later. To this protest the Viceroy replied in the following manner on the 4th January, 1756.

"The news of Your Highness (literally great friend) are always pleasing to me. Tuca Sinay has communicated to Your Highness all the circumstances that led to the proceedings in which Tullagi Angria solicited the protection of the Majestic Estate. I did not permit myself to be persuaded of his friendship, nor did I desire to prepare a way that might alter the amity and good relations that the Majestic State has with Your Highness, and while the cause would not be justified, the knowledge of Tullagi Angria's lack of faith is enough for me. He has kept his faith in a manner as has compelled me to order the return of the few persons that I sent him for guarding his family and (to direct) that they may return in such a manner, as he had often indicated to me, to avoid during their passage any molestation for stopping this small favour, that in no way will they oppose the progress of Your Highness. You may remain sure that I, on my part, entertain an equal desire for our friendly relations which may daily increase and augment more and more."

On the same date a letter was addressed to the Peshwa by the Secretary of State in which he said:

"As regards the information sent by the Captain in the Angria's (territories) to Your Highness that the Majestic State has despatched a reinforcement to the said Angria for the defence of his lands, I can assure you that there is little truth in it. Even the guard that Ismal Can has sent to the abovementioned Angria was only for the defence of his family on the express condition that they will not fight against the troops of Your Highness or of any other Captain who is in peace with us."

On the 29th of January Tulaji was informed by the Count of Alva that as the articles of the late treaty were not being loyally observed by the Angria, the alliance should be considered to have come to an end.

In the same year the Peshwa's General with his English allies invaded Tulaji Angria's territories. Gheria was captured by the English and Tulaji surrendered to the Marathas. The Peshwa contributed to the downfall of the Maratha naval power. The Maratha banner was no more dreaded in the sea and the name of Angria became only a legend and the sovereignty of the sea so long contested by Kanhoji and his valiant sons definitely passed into the hands of a power who half a century later occupied Poona and pensioned off the ruling Peshwa.

The Colaba branch of the Angria family still continued to enjoy their feudal rights and privileges and they maintained a fleet, but their old prestige was entirely gone with the decline of their power.

In January 1778 a treaty was concluded between the Goa Government and Raghuji Angria, Lord of Colaba. It shows how anxious the Portuguese were to maintain a friendly relation with Raghuji though he could inflinct little loss on the mercantile navy of Portugal.

1. If the fleet of the Majestic State or any men-of-war of the fortresses of Diu and Daman meet the Fleet of Colaba, it will send a small boat to give information for reciprocal treatment in demonstration of the existing amity.

2. The ships of Colaba shall be able to come freely to this port of Goa and to go to Daman and Diu for the benefit of their commerce, with the passport of His Highness Raghuji Angria, Lord of Colaba, to show that they are his subjects.

3. In the same manner ships belonging to the subjects of the Majestic State, either of this city or of Daman and Diu,

shall freely continue their trade with the ports of Colaba with the passport of the State and of their respective government.

4. When by some chance the fleet of Raghuji Angria, Lord of Colaba, comes to this port of Goa or to those of Daman and Diu it will be given a good reception permitting it to purchase at a just price all commodities that it may need, and the same treatment shall be accorded in the ports of Colaba to the fleet and other vessels of Goa, Daman and Diu.

5. If the fleet of Colaba enters any of the ports of Goa, Daman and Diu with any prize ship or other vessels not belonging to the dominions of the Majestic State, no obstruction will be offered and in case the Armada of the Majestic State meets the said Armada of Colaba with such prize in the Southern or the Northern coast, they will hoist their banners and pursue their course after making a signal of a cannon shot and without making any enquiry about each other or about their prize.

VI. When His Highness Raghuji Angria, Lord of Colaba, requires the help or assistance of the Majestic State, he will demand and it will be accorded. The Majestic State in its turn will do the same in case it has the same need and the two powers will observe this article with reciprocity.

Two copies of the present treaty will be drawn up with the same terms for being sealed and signed and for reciprocal observance and perpetual fulfilment and for the preservation of a firm amity that should subsist between the two parties, one copy will be sent to His Highness Raghuji Angria, Lord of Colaba, and the other will be preserved in the Secretariat of the Majestic State. Goa, 7th of January, 1778. The Red mark of the Governor, D. José Pedro da Camara.

The good relation so established seems to have continued undisturbed, for Raghunath was not in a position to pursue the aggressive policy of his famous predecessors. In the 12th volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* we find a letter addressed to "Grandioso Ragogi Angria Vazarat Mav Sarquel Rezidente da

Ilha de Culabo" (fol. 12) on the 14th December, 1782. We need not quote the whole letter which testifies to the amity that then existed between the Governments of Goa and Colaba. The following extract will illustrate the spirit that runs through it: "I am sure that Your Highness will not have to reject the friendship of the Majestic State, that is to the interest of both the parties, till we can submit to His Majesty...more favourable terms according to your Highness's desire... ..the decision of my sovereign."

We cannot conclude this section without making a reference to another Angria who bore the same name as the Lord of Colaba. We come across three letters addressed to him in the 11th volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos.* He is differently called Raghuji and Raghunathji, but he is styled as '*Cabo da Armada de Aidar Aly Can*' or Captain of Haidar Ali's fleet. It is possible that a scion of the Angria family had entered Haidar's service after the fall of Gheria. We know nothing however about Haidar Ali's Captain Raghuji. It will be somewhat rash to identify him with the Lord of Colaba. For while the one is distinctly styled as *Cabo da Armada de Aidar Aly*, the other is always mentioned as Lord of Colaba probably to distinguish him from his less exalted namesake. He might be closely related to Tulaji whose line became extinct according to the Patre Yadi account. It is needless to say that Haidar would gladly welcome an Angria in his country and put him in charge of his fleet as the reputation of this family of seamen as intrepid naval leaders had spread all over the Deccan.

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[7] Biker, Tomo VIII, pp. 47-49.

XI

THE PESHWAS' ARMY.

The Portuguese papers could not be altogether silent about the Maratha army. The Marathas were the most formidable enemy they had in India. Chimnaji Appa had conquered Salsette, Bassein and the neighbouring districts from their Portuguese rulers and the papers regarding that campaign published by the Late Sr. Ismael Gracias throw much light upon the military organisation and the military tactics of the Marathas while at the zenith of their power. Quoted below is an estimate of the Maratha army from the pen of an able and intelligent Viceroy, the Marquis of Alorna. It should be noted that the defects of the Maratha military system did not escape this intelligent foreign observer :

"From what experience I have of it, I do not consider that the army of the Marathas and of other princes, that has by rumour such an age-long reputation in this part as in (the rest of) Asia and in Europe, is anything more formidable than a rabble. I would have no hesitation with a corps of five thousand regular soldiers to attack such an army though fifty thousand (strong). The disorder that they have in their army is the same they observe in marching and in encampment. Their army differs little from that of the Gypsies; each one finds out a place, a shade or a tree that suffices to accommodate him, they have little vigilance of guards or sentinels and are in this respect very easily (to be) surprised. This militia is divided into three corps, cavalry, infantry and armed elephants. The cavalry is composed of a few good horses and an infinite number of sorry jades called nags. Some soldiers of this corps are armed with lances, others with large swords. The Sipaes of the infantry are armed with Caitocas which is a kind of small firearm carried by them much more frequently than our arms, and some with one or two long and large swords and others with bow and arrow. An infinite number of men called Fakirs always follow the army, who are not men of arms, nor fighters by profession, but who only rob and ravage the country they pass through. The elephants, taught and trained for war, are of the greatest value to the Hindus, when they are intrepid and not afraid of noise. Princes, generals and distinguished persons mount them; they are used to attack the enemy carrying different platoons of men armed with bow and arrow. When infuriated they cause great harm with the trunk. There are elephants (when they have all the necessary qualities) that sell for twenty thousand rupees. These troops are not such as can get a firm footing (against) an enemy, and attack him with an intrepid resolution. All their operations consist in sallies, surprises and ambuscades; and in woods and defiles, supposed to be safe, they are terrible and very formidable on the road (after rout); finally these troops are a kind of Pendhari with less ferocity and courage but exceedingly cunning to find out any disorder or advantage. The more important of their enterprises terminate more in causing harm, robbery and devastation of the country than in fighting battles decided by sword, by fire, and causing great horror.

The dread that all have for the Maratha spreads before their armies and announces to the provinces through which they pass and at greater distances the loss with which they menace them. This compels them to send immediately emissaries to the armies to escape by (giving) many lakhs of rupees the ruin with which they are threatened. When the expedition is finished, the armies gather without unsheathing the sword, an immense spoil and wealth which at times are not equivalent to the expenses incurred for the allied troops to whom one rupee per day is paid for each man and five hundred rupees for each horse that is wounded, lost or killed in the invasion. If similar troops had discipline and courage in proportion to other circumstances, they would be invincible. None endure so many hardships as these: they do not require military uniforms for they travel naked from waist upward, with three or four *apas*, a kind of cake made of rice or wheat which they get for eating for a number of days and for this reason it is excused from the great embarrassment of carriages that a big army requires for carrying provisions. By extensive and repeated incursions, the Marathas have inspired such terror and panic in the whole of Asia from the Indus to the Ganges that all yield to them and none resists them. Many times they have arrived to touch with their lance the walls of Delhi and Agra, capitals of the Grand Mogul. The kingdoms of Cambay and Gujrat, the provinces of Arcot and the Carnatic and all the districts of Bengal have recently been the pitiful theatre of their destructions, whence they have extorted and actually carried away immense wealth thereby making the treasury of the same Mogul diminish considerably."

This is the estimate of the strength and the weakness of the Maratha army that we have from a very shrewd foreign observer whose interest it was to secure reliable and accurate information.

Though the Marathas had their own cannon foundries, they relied more upon a supply of artillery and ammunition from their European neighbours than on their own manufactures. The fifth article of a treaty concluded between the Portuguese Government and the Peshwa Baji Rao on the 9th January, 1722 (just after the joint Anglo-Portuguese expedition against Kanhoji Angria's head-quarters) permitted the Peshwa to purchase artillery, ball and powder in Portuguese territories at a just price (Biker, VI, pp. 10-12). Naran Vithal Dumo, the Portuguese agent, was asked by the Poona Government to inform the Viceroy that the Peshwa wanted a supply of big and small bronze cannons of the latest type with necessary munitions, balls and powder in view of the likelihood of a war (Biker, VIII, p. 236). From a letter addressed to Ananda Rao Dhulap on the 2nd September, 1782 (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 11, fol. no. obliterated) it appears that he had asked for a supply

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of sulphur and the Portuguese authorities had promptly found the quantity required. Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan also, while engaged in the siege of Dharwar had approached the Portuguese authorities at Goa for the munitions he wanted and as the Goa merchants were not then in a position to supply any gunpowder, twenty-five Khandis of powder was given gratis out of the Government stock (Biker, Vol. IX, pp. 212-213). A letter in the tenth volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* shows that Mahadaji Sindhia also purchased powder from the Portuguese.

But it is not artillery, balls and powder alone that the Marathas purchased from their Portuguese neighbours. In 1760 Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao formed an alliance with the Portuguese for the conquest of Janjira. The Portuguese Government undertook to send at the Peshwa's expense a Portuguese auxiliary force to co-operate with the Marathas in the projected expedition. The Maratha disaster at Panipat saved lucky Janjira from conquest and annexation. During the civil war that distracted Maharashtra after the murder of Narayan Rao both of the contending parties sought military aid from Goa. In a memorial presented to Nana Fadnavis by the Portuguese agent, Narana Rao Vithal, it was mentioned as a proof of their friendship that the Portuguese had refused the assistance solicited by Raghunath Rao and had delivered into the hands of the Maratha authorities Tulagi Panvar, a criminal guilty of '*lesa magestad.*' (Biker, Vol. VIII, p. 249.) They were willing to assist the ministerial party provided they offered a sufficiently tempting price as we read in a letter addressed to " O Illustre Honorado e valoroso Mhadagy Sindô, Superior de grande Exercito de Milicias " (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 11, fol.). " In consideration of the amity that prevails between the Majestic State and the Most Felicitous Madou Rao Naraen Pradan, I am prepared to help him against his enemy, His Highness Ragoba, with the troops of the State if the Most Felicitous

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Peshwa orders the restoration to this State its ancient dominions, the fortress of Bacaim (Bassein) with all its jurisdiction and all the villages of Daman after a settlement convenient to both the parties" (8th July, 1780). What reply Mahadaji Sindhia, then the mainstay of the ministerial party, vouchsafed to this letter we do not know, but it is apparent that the price demanded by the Portuguese was deemed exorbitant by the partisans of the young Peshwa.

Space does not permit me to quote here the full text of a treaty concluded between the Portuguese and the Peshwa in 1779 when the Poona Government ceded the Pargana of Nagar Haveli to the Portuguese Government. Its terms are somewhat analogous to those of the treaty concluded by the Portuguese with Raghuji Angria, Lord of Kolaba, and provides for reciprocal friendly treatment between the two States and their respective subjects. A Portuguese translation of the original Marathi text by Ananta Camotim Vaga, a Shenvi linguist in the Portuguese service will be found in *Noticias e Documentos para A Historia de Damão* by Antonio Francisco Moniz (junior) (pp. 207-211).

Most of the treaties that the Portuguese concluded with the successive Peshwas provided for freedom of trade and it appears that the Peshwas' officers did not forget to secure trade facilities for their own countrymen. Thus, the treaty of peace and amity between Senhor M. da Silveiro de Menezes, Captain General of the fortresses and territories of the North and Senhor Chrishna Rao Mahadeo, Governor of Galliana (Kalyan) (1731-1732, 30 January-10 February) not only provided for the free movement of merchantmen but also laid down that after the terms of the treaty had been ratified the merchants of Kalyan and Bhivandi would be allowed to have a bazar in the city of Bassein where they required one for their trade. (Biker, Vol. VI, pp. 175-178.) The following unpublished letter from the 11th volume of the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* may not prove altogether uninteresting as it tells us how silk and other products of China found their way to the Maratha holy place of Pandharpur through the enterprise of Portuguese and Maratha subjects. "To Naraena Sinay Dumo: Gopala Naique Canado, Bapugi Naique Canado, and Bapugi Naique Parque, merchants of Pandarpur, purchased from the merchants of the State a large cargo of silk and other stuffs of China that the tradesmen of Macau brought to this capital in their boats last year. It did not appear to me that they traded with the English. It is certain that both Macau whence these stuffs came and this city where they were sold belong to the Royal Crown of Portugal. From the representations made by the said merchants I learn that the said stuffs are now deposited at Sangolim. I am writing to the Most Felicitous Madou Rao Narana for permission to disembark them in consideration of the excellent amity that exists between the two powers and to allow the said merchants to carry on their trade in this city. And I direct you to apply to the (Peshwas') Government and urge them to permit the disembarcation of the said stuffs and a Sanad for the same merchants for freely continuing their trade in this city. Goa, 16th October, 1781, F. G. de Souza. (Reis Visinhos, Tomo 11, fol. 125.) A letter, as the above epistle tells us, was written to the Peshwa also and the request of the Portuguese Government was granted (22 February, 1782, R. V. 11, fol. 143).

The Portuguese records do not fail to throw light upon other aspects of the Maratha Government. Their religious policy was liberal and tolerant and Christian subjects in Bassein and other places were permitted to exercise the old rights that they enjoyed under the Portuguese Government. On the 3rd July, 1801, the Sarsubedar of Bassein was informed by the Peshwa Baji Rao II, "The Honourable Vital Rao Gorqui, the agent of the Portuguese Government at Goa, represented to the Government (the Marathi original must be Huzur) at the residence of Poona, that since the District of Bassein passed from the Portuguese Government to that of the Sarkar, the administration of the churches, maintained in this province from ancient times, have been conducted by the Padres and their disciples have been directed and punished in conformity with their religion without any impediment from the Sarkar, and he begged that this order should be sent for the conservation of this practice. We have decided, as the Padres may kill cows, to prohibit that practice entirely. As for the religious usages, the Padres will instruct their disciples according to the observances practised from ancient times and those who do not go to the mass will be punished as in the past without any impediment from Your Honour." (Biker, Tomo X, p. 276.)

Before concluding we may observe that the Portuguese politicians had not failed to find out the real source of Maratha weakness. While Vyankat Rao appeared at Margao, the Portuguese addressed a number of letters to Naro Ram Mantri and they tried their best to exploit the difference that existed among the principal Maratha officers. They even attempted to alienate Shahu from his too powerful Prime Minister. This policy was pursued even after the death of Shahu as we learn from the instructions that the Marquis of Alorna left for his successor. It is no wonder that the Portuguese or the English should try to take advantage of the jealousy and misunderstanding that prevailed among the Maratha chiefs, but what is surprising that not only Naro Ram who had no particular reason for identifying himself with the Peshwa's cause but even Bahiropant Mehendale and Anu Bai, the sister of Baji Rao, should constitute themselves the guardians of Portuguese interest at the Poona Court. Bahiropanta Mehendale is styled as "procurador" (Agent or Attorney) of the Portuguese Government at Poona, in a letter of the Secretary of State to Naraena Sinay and also in a letter addressed by Gangadhar Panta, Subedar of Gheria, to the Governor of Goa (Biker, Tomo IX, pp. 176-177). When Tenente Coronel J. Phillipe deLandreset was sent on an embassy to the court of Balaji Baji Rao in 1759, he was told by his official superiors: "you will be assisted at the court of Puna by some persons devoted to the Portuguese Government as well as by Anu Bai, aunt of Nana (Balaji Baji Rao), and her son Naraena Vencata Rao and the Nabobo Mujefarganga and others whom you must treat with the greatest urbanity." (Biker, Vol. VII, pp. 159-165.) In March 1, 1791, Naran Vithal, the Portuguese Agent at Poona, wrote to his employees that the best way of getting anything achieved would be to make presents of precious clothes. This is also confirmed by the evidence of English writers like Fryer and Broughton. The Maratha officer was open to bribe and when he got a present he was quite willing to oblige the party that gave it irrespective of his nationality and without pausing to consider the interests of the State. In short personal interest preponderated over that of the State and as the feudal organisation of the Maratha empire had led to the creation within its fold of a large number of semi-independent states, it steadily declined in power as its solidarity was being unmistakably and quickly impaired.

This report does not claim to be exhaustive and it aspires only to indicate what new light the Portuguese records can throw on Indian History. I examined, as I have previously stated, some of the published records and only one section of the unpublished records preserved at Goa. I had no time to go through the *Livros dos Monçœs*, *Livros dos Pazes* and *Livros dos Cartazes*, but it has been amply demonstrated that the students of Maratha History cannot be indifferent to the original Portuguese sources and as very few of these records have hitherto been published, the Portuguese archives still offer a fruitful field for study and research to all students of modern Indian History.

CLASSICAL INDIAN MUSIC

With great diffidence I venture to write on Indian Music or more properly Aryan Music as it developed in India. Sacred as the Ganges this music was born out of the hymns of the Sama Veda or perhaps its source may lie further back in time. Its aim was not merely to please the ear, but to elevate the soul till it became united with the Divine—the ocean of bliss. Thus it was recognized to be the highest of all Arts and Sciences, the purest of all branches of knowledge, physical or occult. Rishis like Narada, Tamburu and Bharat and many a holy sage of antiquity walked this speediest road to the goal of the highest human ambition. A man who took no delight in it or whose heart was not moved to raptures by its ethereal strains was thought to be worse than a beast, and no system of education would be complete in those days without a touch of this sanctifying element.

I would not try the patience of my readers with quotations from the Sastras about the merits of "Marga" or Classical Music supposed to have been brought down from the heavens as opposed to "Deshiya" or popular music which prevailed and still prevails in different parts of India. Being the consummation of high class musical art, "Marga" music pre-supposed a certain degree of culture, and hence it was a sealed book to the ordinary people who had to be content with "Deshiya" music which they could far better assimilate. But they could not help being branded as 'tail-less bears' by the connoisseurs of Marga music the latter hardly condescending to dignify Deshiya music with the name of music.

No doubt classical music in India as elsewhere evolved historically out of popular music but that did not preclude it from being infinitely superior in expression to all forms of popular music. It was reached by a gradual process of artistic discrimination and selection combined with analysis, synthesis and generalisation. I shall try now to make myself more explicit.

Since people learned to communicate their feelings not merely by gestures and language but also musical voice, which might have been long long before the discovery of metal, or the use of fire, they sang songs. An emotional occasion whether in individual or social life would hardly go unsung by individuals or groups. They sang to soothe their love-laden soul, to celebrate their nuptials to mourn their dead. They sang the praise of their chiefs or kings and sang the worship of their deity. The Vedic Hymns are nothing but chants addressed to the various gods such as Indra, Agni, Rudra, Varuna of our Indo-Aryan ancestors and latterly to one God only of whom the former came to be regarded as agents or manifestations. Now what I want to impress upon my readers is that these occasional songs whether solo or chorus were at first nothing but the naïve untutored and spontaneous outbursts of emotion which gradually crystallized into definite tunes. In course of time these definite tunes came to be compared and analysed until they resolved themselves into a much fewer number of Ragas and Raginis roughly though unhappily called Melodies. Ragas and Raginis or Ragas in brief are the generalised essence of innumerable tunes and hence each Raga is a potential reservoir of as many analogous tunes as one can draw out.

Marga music of which the origin may be traced to the genius of Druhin, a musical prodigy for that remote antiquity, was based on the conception that the Ragas were the real ultimate units of music, the immutable and everlasting seeds of the later rich tune-harvest that the world has since been reaping. It marked an epoch of distinct advance upon the popular tune-music of old (the unconscious application of the Raga-principle not yet formulated) subsequently called "Deshiya" when the time for such a differentiation arrived.

The Ragas though abstracted from concrete popular tunes are not mere abstractions. They were real musical types. The classification of the Ragas is more by type than by character—the central types or those having the most marked individuality being known as Ragas. Round each type or Raga are arranged a cluster of other melodies (I use the term for want of a better) or Raginis. These Raginis formerly 36 in number were classed in 6 groups, each group having a central type or Raga. The distance at which each of the 6 Raginis consorted to a Raga stood from the Raga itself was determined by its degree of resemblance with the Raga, resemblance being measured not so much by physical musical constituents as the sentiment evoked. There is a conflict of authorities in the Sastras as to the names of the central types and the members included in a typical group. I do not propose to discuss the relative superiority of any of the schools of classification but this diversity of opinion is eloquent of the great difficulty which a classifier of psychological entities must experience and points unmistakably to the view that the flesh and blood if not the soul of a Raga is its sentiment—its skeleton being the notes. But I must pass on.

The days of six Ragas and thirty-six Raginis as the sum total of Indian music are long over. In each work later than the original "Samhitas" we find a growing list of Raginis until they swelled up to three figures. But curiously enough the number of the central types or Ragas remained fixed and up till now when the number of Raginis is well-nigh on the verge of four figures, no audacious musician has ventured to increase the number of Ragas. What reason better than orthodoxy stands in the way of such a venture I have not yet been able to discover. There is no harm in making the classification less awkward and confusing. Instances can be cited of two Raginis affiliated to two separate Ragas, though standing farthest away from the central types, resemble each other more than their types. Moreover it is arbitrary to suppose as some do that we have exhausted the whole potentiality of Raginis. The orthodox belief that no fresh discovery is possible is challenged by the fact that Raginis lend themselves to unification. Of course the union must be such as to partake more of the nature of chemical fusion than physical mixture. "Iman Kalyan" and "Miaki Mallar" as compounded by Amir Khasru and Tansen are examples of such a fusion—whereas "Sindhu Bhairabi" and "Behag Khambaj" which music-mongers of the present age have manufactured are but illustrations of physical mixture. The latter can never enrich Raginis or add to their number.

Our musical perception, so far as sentiment is concerned, is susceptible to infinite shades and ramifications. So its counterpart, the Ragas and Raginis or Ragas in brief, must also be, if not innumerable, numerous. I do not agree with those who hold that every possible emotion can be twisted out of each and every Raga merely by the art of setting. Take a selected combination of notes warranted by the characteristic structure of a Raga, put it in a particular rhythm or measure, play it in a particular scale or pitch, and the musical sentiment would be radically different from that evoked by another such combination of the same Raga—is a theory *prima facie* absurd. If the entire possible expansion of a Raga is productive of one and one emotion (Rasa) only, homogeneous all through as the Sastras imply by assigning one 'Rupa' (form) to it only, and if the parts of it do not clash as we practically experience however much the measure and pitch may be diversified in the various stages of 'Alap' (dexterous performance by an expert) it becomes really a bit difficult to see how any piecemeal representation however artistic of a Raga can sentimentally differ from another such representation. Perhaps the root of this error

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lies in confounding pure music with music wedded to words.

The next paragraph will further attempt to explain my position.

I have already said that men in early times sang compositions or songs full of meaning only. They sang and danced at times to the accompaniment of instruments. Of course the etymology of the word " Sangit " suggests all the three factors of song, dance and instrumental music and the definition of "Sangit " given in the Sastras corroborates this. But I have nothing to do with that at present. No one would now-a-days believe that a musician must be well up in all the three above-named branches to be a musician. What I want to bring home to my readers is this. Instrumental music originally intended to accompany vocal music got over its slavish subservience one day through the caprice of a performer and people found to their surprise that the two need not be inseparably bound up. This assumption of independence by instrumental music was not at all resented to as it was far from being displeasing. On the other hand its peculiarities were analogically transferred to vocal music, and this extension proved so salutary in its effect that the fabric of pure 'Marga' music was at once begun to be woven out of the raw tunes embodied in songs. The fabric was infinitely more elastic and fraught with suggestions than the fibres. Then and then only the idea struck in many a cultured brain that words with meaning were like floating incumbrances on the tide of pure music and that they could either help or retard its flow. Like 'pure number' and 'pure reason,' 'pure music' had its own subtle contents and to modify it even by the sentiments of poesy was to rob it of its intrinsic delicate flavour. But this flavour appealed only to the initiated. The common people not having the advantage of a cultivated ear could not appreciate or enjoy it unless made palatable with heavily-perfumed sentiments concretely embodied in poetic words. Even at the present day the imposition of different kinds of expressive and suggestive words full of emotional significance upon the same basic Raga hardly fails to produce in the minds of the uninitiated different Rasas—and they err honestly by ascribing it to setting.

Classical Indian music is more or less antithetical to Western music. The spirit of the one is monophonic, polyphonic of the other. But it will be distorting truth to say, that harmony is altogether foreign to the former. It makes use of harmony in a way consistent with its nature and spirit. The auxiliary strings of a string-instrument like Vina are tuned harmonically and not identically with the main-string. But it is not permissible to tune an auxiliary string in the octave of another auxiliary string. All the auxiliary strings must be tuned in the octave of the main string, and then they can be touched synchronously. '*Mutatis mutandis,*' chorus may be sung in different pitches of the same standard but not in different keys of it. The reason is that the Diatonic scale has no place in our musical accoustics. The chromatic scale which is hardly used in practical music in Europe is the only scale we use. The reason of this also is plain. Our music is like embroidery work on a texture. It moves on a steady and continuous back-ground. It never loses sight of the standard. Hence as the "ga" and "dha" of the diatonic scale are discordant with the "Sa"—we cannot for the sake of harmony tune them in the diatonic scale; which to say the least of it is artificial. Still more it is impossible, therefore, to play the octave of "Sa," and "Ma" or "Sa" and "Pa" for the matter of that side by side. The relation between "Sa" and "Re" of the chromatic scale, so far as interval or vibration is concerned, cannot correspond with that between "Ma" and "Pa" or "Pa" and "Dha." In the diatonic scale they may perhaps to a certain extent correspond but when in a harmonic concert the parallel standards themselves would be disharmonious from the point of view of Indian music where the question of agreement between the successive keys of the standards does not arise. The introduction of occidental harmony, therefore, into our oriental music would mean the denationalisation, nay, total destruction of the latter.

Music is as much a science as a practical art. It can never be wholly recorded in books. They can only be referred to as sign-posts or light-houses. They can show you the way but not guide you through it. For want of a better vehicle therefore the "Marga" or classical music of India has been handed down to us by tradition. That the rich inheritance has not degenerated or been to a great extent transformed in the process of transmission we cannot vouchsafe. Deviation and discrepancy from the pristine original is not unnatural. Improvement in many respects also is quite possible. But we must be content with what we have. It will be idle curiosity and waste of time to speculate on the past and expatiate on its glories. In the rummaging spirit of the archæologist you can hunt up ancient treatises but to what purpose? To dig up the fossilized bones of the "*Mastodon*" is not to clothe it in flesh and blood or even cover it with living skin. You cannot decipher the obliterated characters mostly hieroglyphics of ancient music however much you may strain your eyes.

The spirit of renaissance is sweeping over India of late. Musical enthusiasts are cropping up in every direction. As one section of them is busy in the dark cellars and shadowy lumbre-rooms of the past another section is eager to construct a luminous edifice of immediate future. But unfortunately none of the two sections seem to pay any heed to the halls of the present they are treading. No doubt our music is now in a decadent state and nothing can be more desirable than to effect its resurrection. But we cannot with impunity ignore the assets we have got. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. We must be thoroughly conversant with the present before we can hope to make any solid advancement, prospective or retrospective. Your labours would not be amply rewarded if after patient research or arduous experiment for several years you get hold of a Ragini believed to be brand new or long extinct and then somebody steps in to inform you it has been all along in existence though not in the name you have stamped it with. Ignorance may often pass as an excuse but is hardly a consolation. Stand firm on the ground on which you are standing and then jump ahead.

The modern champions of progress seem to be badly equipped also. The harmonium—an apology for musical instrument—is their shovel and stick. They must throw it away and take up something better if they are to explore anything new in the territory of classical Indian music. How can they expect with the help of twelve Srutis only to do just as much as their predecessors with twenty-two Srutis? How can they even dream to cheat the ear with isolated discrete notes accustomed to the sweetness of 'Gamak'—the sonorous wavy motion with which one note glides imperceptibly into and blends with another? That would be working a miracle indeed. They must also give up once for all their ideas of representing high-class Indian music by means of notation. They can as well try to pick up running balls of quick-silver with their fingers.

Our classical music defies representation. It can only be recorded whether in memory or in scientific contrivances. The wailing outpour of the Vina under expert manipulation, the feeling—saturated shower of a master's voice—cannot be caught in the hardened meshes of graphs and symbols. The service of the gramophone and the wireless can be requisitioned to record and perpetuate them.

One more suggestion and I have done. To revivify or rejuvenate classical music stimulus is necessary. This stimulus must come in the form of patronage, money and honour both. If the profession of the musician is looked down upon—if the musician has got to live on the poor pittance of casual charity—he cannot pitch himself up to the height of creative ecstasy.

The artist is a creator. His mission is fulfilled by life-long consecration only and not amateur efforts. In this view of the case I would suggest the following hints to all music-loving individuals and corporations, *i.e.*, all who are interested in classical Indian music.

(*a*) There should be recognized seats of musical learning throughout the length and breadth of India, *i.e.*, Universities of Music.

(*b*) Music should be taught as a compulsory subject in all academic centres—the Universities in particular.

(*c*) Eminent professors with adequate remuneration for their services, should be deputed as itinerant missionaries to demonstrate the art of classical Indian Music.

(*d*) Occasional soirées under expert musicians should be held in public places—free to the public.

(*e*) Prizes and rewards should be provided for competing musical students.

(*f*) Musical Journals should be published and edited by musical boards.

(*g*) Research Institutes of Music should be established and maintained.

I conclude by stating with conviction that these or similar methods must be adopted in order to create and disseminate the taste for high-class Indian music so neglected now-a-days. It will foster knowledge, propagate enthusiasm and dispel the illusory fascination for those imported tinsels with which even our educated community are adorning the golden but dust-covered image of our indigenous classical music.

PRAMATHANATH BANERJEE

FROM DARJEELING

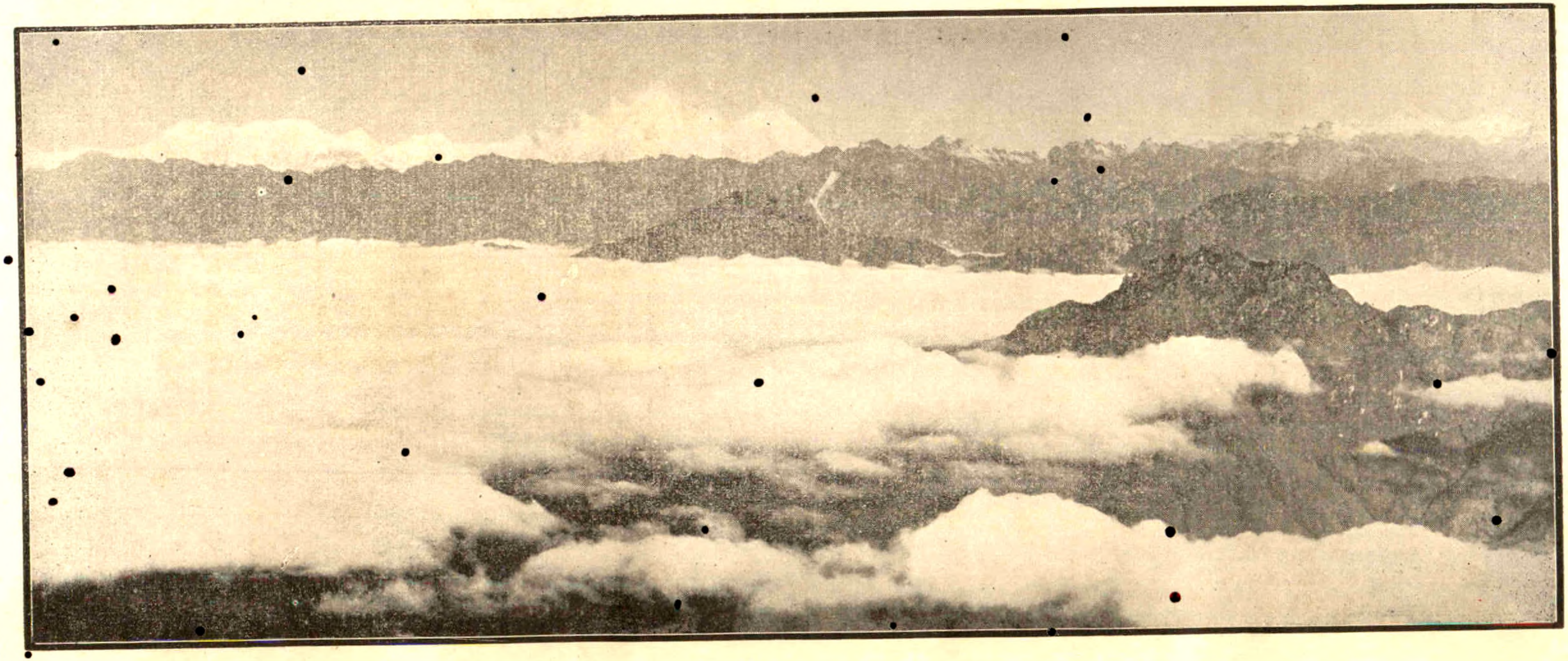
I. To the Spirit of the Himalayan Range: An Invocation.

O, Spirit of the great Himalayan range,
Who stands like Moses when he talked with God,
All veiled before the Glory of His Face,
Lift now thy mists and to our eyes reveal
Thy blue-draped form and lofty snow-crowned brow,
That we may worship too the Power Divine.
O, infinite, remote, sublime ye stand
Upon the apex of this sad, old earth—
A sentinel to watch o'er all the works
That He called Good, within creation's dawn.
The mighty march of stars, the sun, the moon,
The music of the spheres, the rolling waves
Of oceans, guarding secrets vast and strange.
The pigmy men, who come, and go, and come
As slaves, as kings, to thrones that rise and fall,
To shifting scenes of dynasties and wars,
As *Karma* whirls her mighty wheel aloft,
Then turns it down to darkness deep and dread.
O, Virgin Spirit, mateless, white, supreme
Upon thy throne, whose arch is Heaven's blue dome,
Whose lamps are stars, hung from the jewelled fane,
Alone, communing with the One called *Om*—
The Essence pure, the Father-Mother God,
United in the One Effulgent Light—
Lift now thy veils ; the trailing veils that hide
Thy wondrous beauty, that we too may kneel

In sweet communion with that Light Supreme;
For where dwells Beauty in divinest form,
There too dwells Truth, and Life, and Love and God,
For they are One: " *Om mani padme hum.*"

II. A HILL MADONNA.

The babe lay in a basket by the road,
Its little hands clutched at a sunbeam bright
That came thr'u' dark fir trees in soft caress,
And set the bangles on its wrist alight.
Wrapped in a cloth, like swaddling bands, it lay
Patient and mute, whilst bending by its side
The little shawl-draped Bhutia mother sat;
Her aching hands a heavy hammer plied
To crush the rocks that mended the highway.
The jingling bangles, and the hammer's song
Lulled the wee babe throughout the long, long day.
Dim groping after beauty was the soul
Of her who wore a flower in her hair,
And silver bands around her slim, brown arms,
And coral beads with kau, that held a prayer:
Yet clad in faded rags, and hungry oft',
With heart upraised, for him she builded high
Who slept within the bamboo basket near—
'Neath fir-trees' shade and sapphire-tinted sky.
" Her little man! A Lama he should be—
With bell, and beads, and prayer-mill at the shrine
Of Gautama, and *pooja* make all day!"—
And so she toiled and dreamed her dream divine.



THE UNCONQUERED EVEREST

III. From Observatory Hill.

I stood upon a mighty eminence
And gazed adown upon the sun-filled vale:
Across the hills the shadows glided by,
As tho' an host of angels passed on high—
And on the mountain's crests the white clouds lay
With folded wings, and dreamed of peace and rest.
From out the clefts between the rugged hills
There floated mists of violet and blue,
Until before mine eyes a purdah hung,
Alight with Heaven's glory that shone thr'u'.
And oh, the Soul must be a wingèd thing—
I felt its pinions trembling to unfold—
Eager to fly aloft, to mount, to rest,
On those white clouds along the mountain's breast!

Again I stood above the self-same view—
A grey, impenetrable mist was there,
Blotting out the beauty, absorbing all—
The mighty hills, the sun-filled vale, the snows—
All hidden in that cold, grey, fearsome sea,
That made one think of Death and Mystery!
Why not plunge down into that dark abyss
And so become one with it, and to find
Nirvana?—Blissful, dreamless *Nirvana*!
To be absorbed in God's Omnipotence,
To merge into the glory of His Heart,
And palpitate in ecstasy for aye!

IV. NEARING SUN-SET.

Nearing sun-set—just after the rain—
The beauty has thrust in my heart a pain
Like a thorn; but the roses also are there,
With the yearning, and the sadness and prayer,
Thr'u' cumulus clouds of dark blues and greys,
The sun is thrusting out long, golden rays,
And rain drops, like jewels, hang from the trees,
That glisten and vibrate in the soft breeze.
From out cirrus clouds of silvery white,
The High Peaks are shining in robes of light—
While velvet-like hills, in vast tones of green,
Are draped in veils of glorious sheen!
Across Kalimpong a rainbow is flung,
Like a garland o'er an open door hung—
And from the deep valley clearly is heard,
The vesper song of a love-filled bird!
God grant when my sun is nearing the west
After Life's storms, I may feel the sweet rest
That now I feel, while I gaze on this scene,
Of beauty so tranquilly grand and serene.

TERESA STRICKLAND

CHEERIO

Be it land or water
Or air,
The darkest depth,
Or the giddiest height,
Where'er you are
Cheerio, comrade dear,
There's life, there is light
Everywhere !

Fellow Sailor
Of life's rough sea,
Are you sinking
Comaderie,
No hope, no chance ?
Cheerio, my son,
A new life is calling thee.

Is the sky darkening ?
It is joy bursting !
These are
Tears of delight,
Carrying in their bosom
life and light.

Find life too hot
In senseless chaos caught ?
Cheerio, brave soul,
Lo, it is cosmos in the melting pot !

M. DHAR

THE WORLD IN PRAYER

In the dawn of a new-born life
The ocean-waves stood still,
The planets ceased to roll,
And life did fail and stop,
In the midmost vast of the sky
Arose the shriek of the hill,—
I will shake off this night of rest,
And sweep up to sky tower's top.

The heart-beats of Time were stopped.
The world right away did swoon,
The breath of the night-breeze failed,
And a shivering ran down the stars,—
He will crash through the crystal dome
And break down the bower of moon,
And choke up the fountains of life
With stone-hearted desolating wars.

But the world soon heaved a sigh,
And all the tense doubt became still,
The glad news flew off in clouds,
And trembled on the eyelids of night,
The world-heart arose in prayer
Through the heart of the mighty hill,
And heaven's grace crowned its brow
With snow-white wreaths of light.

NALINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE MONISTIC THEORIES: AND THE VEDĀNTA

The true function of philosophy is to explain experience. Philosophy accordingly starts with the plurality of existents which experience reveals to us, and tries to rise from a world of plurality to a consistent and comprehensive conception of the world-whole as a system of inter-related units. But different hypotheses have been started by different thinkers as to the origin of the world, the nature of the existents constituting it, as well as of their reciprocal relations and ultimate end. We propose briefly to examine here the various monistic theories of the world in their relation to the Vedāntic Pantheism.

Monistic theories, apart from the Acosmism of Spinoza, have assumed three different forms, which are as follows:—

(*i*) *The Eleatics, Gaudapāda, and Śaṅkara.*—With the Eleatics, the ultimate reality is Pure Being which is above all change and differentiations. And, as it is above all change and movement, the world of plurality is, according to them, nothing but appearances and illusions. The position of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara, in India, greatly resembles that of the Eleatics. "The whole world," according to Śaṅkara, "is but an erroneous appearance, as unreal as a snake, mistaken for a piece of rope, by a belated traveller, and disappears, just as the imagined snake does, as soon as light of true knowledge has arisen" (*Cf.* Thibaut, Vedānta Sūtras, pp. cxix-cxx). In his commentary on Vedānta Sūtras, II. 1, 14, Śaṅkara describes the world of plurality as an illusion, pure and simple, a mere outcome of Ignorance, or Avidya. In dealing with the Vedānta Sūtras, II. I, 23, he again characterises the plurality of existents as resembling "objects seen in a dream." "Perception apprehends," says he, "only pure and unqualified existence...External objects are invariably apprehended as compounded of existence and appearance, and...in all perceptive cognisance, existence alone unvaryingly persists, while the differentiating peculiarities of things are seen to vary from thing to thing." Śaṅkara, accordingly, concludes, "pure, unqualified existence alone is real" (Rangāchārjya, and Baradārāja, Śribhāṣya, trans., p. x.). Parmenides, likewise, ascribes reality to the Universal Being alone, and holds everything, which is subject to change, as unreal. Before Śaṅkara, Gauḍapāda had held exactly the same views; and Śaṅkara has only reduced his teachings into a system. All multiplicity, says Gauḍapāda, in his Kārikās on the Maṇd. Up., II. 1, is unreal. The world of plurality is no more real than a dream-world. "The two worlds are alike; the only difference is, one is external, and the other is internal." And Śaṅkara, in commenting on the same, observes "as in a dream, the objects seen are false, so too in waking. Their capability of being seen is the same. Therefore, in the waking condition too, they (the objects seen) are false." (*Cf.* Sāstri, Doctrine of Māyā, p. 87). Thus, from the fact, that both the waking-world and the dream-world are "capable of being seen," they are treated alike, and the unreality of both is inferred.

But Pure Being is a mere logical abstraction. "It is an abstraction formed in a perfectly legitimate way, which aims at embracing the common element that is to be found in many cases of Being, and that distinguishes them from Not-Being." But "it does not", to use Lotze's words, "admit, as it stands, of application to anything real. Just as an abstract motion cannot take place, just as it never occurs, but in the form of velocity, in a definite direction, so Pure Being cannot in reality be an antecedent or substance of such a kind as that empirical existence, with its manifold determinations, should be, in any sort, a secondary emanation from it, either as its consequence, or as its modification" (Met., Vol. II, p. 31). By denying the reality of the world of change and generation, Unqualified Monism has indeed evaded the real problem of metaphysics, and confessed its utter helplessness and poverty as an explanation of the world of experience. Even Śaṅkara himself, has, in dealing with the Vedānta Sūtras, II. 2, 29, flatly contradicted himself, and been forced to admit the absurdity of treating 'waking experience' and 'dream experience' as identical in character. We deny, says he, "that the ideas of posts, and so on... may arise (in the waking state) in the absence of external objects, just as the ideas of a dream, on the ground of their both being alike ideas. The two sets of ideas, we maintain, cannot be treated on the same footing, on account of the difference of their character" (Thibaut, *Ibid*, pp. 424-25). This is a clear admission of the reality of the plurality. But Śaṅkara seems to think that he is not bound to be consistent; and he, accordingly, denies its reality next moment! Philosophy aims at an explanation of the world-whole. But Unqualified Monism, by lightly denying the reality of the world of plurality, has evaded the whole problem, instead of solving it.

(*ii*) *Cartesian Monism.*—The ordinary view of absolute creation of the world out of nothing is a modified form of Abstract Monism. It holds the Ultimate Reality to be one only, and affirms that, before creation, God alone existed, and that, at a certain point of time, the world of finite existents was brought into being, out of nothing, by a mere divine fiat, and was given an independent existence, with powers and laws of its own, to keep it agoing automatically. It is thus held that God has voluntarily put a limit upon his own infinitude and freedom, and made room for all finite existents, and assigned to them an independent existence of their own. This is the position of Descartes, Reid and his followers.

But this view makes the world of plurality, by its existence outside the Absolute, necessarily a limit to its infinitude and freedom. If, moreover, the plurality is once allowed an independent position, it may as well be conceived as having been in that position from all eternity. And this has actually been held in the Yoga system of Patanjali. Such a view of creation, besides, assigns to the world merely a contingent existence, and makes the relation between God and the world, with its multiplicity of things and beings, entirely arbitrary, mechanical and unthinkable; and it, at the same time, fails to give a satisfactory explanation of reciprocal inter-connections among existents, as correlated factors of a single whole.

(*iii*) *Concrete Spiritualism.*

The most fundamental problem of philosophy is to explain the relation between the One and the many, the unconditioned and the conditioned. Pantheism, by its denial of the reality of the world of existents, evades the real problem; whereas Abstract Monism renders the relation between the two altogether mechanical, arbitrary and unthinkable. The reality of the manifold of experience is indubitable; for to deny the same means to reject the testimony of experience. Self-consciousness bears a clear testimony to the reality of both the self and the not-self, as well as of their correlation and unity. We are directly aware of the existence of a self-sustaining and self-developing principle in us. Through our sensations, we are also clearly aware of an objective order of inter-related units without. Experience, thus presents to us an orderly system without, and a domain of reality within us. In this latter domain, we see that the reality in us has its own ways of self-manifestation,—it has its successive states in and through which it maintains and develops itself, and reveals itself, as a principle of unity-in-difference—and that these inter-related states are but functions and operations of one identical principle in us. And the consciousness of an intimate correlation and correspondence between the two worlds, irresistibly forces upon us a conviction that they must have a common ground of their origin and inter-connection and that the entire cosmic order must be the self-evolution of a single Eternal and Infinite Reality, which has evolved the plurality of existents from within, as modes of its self-manifestation, assigned to them their respective places, functions and ends, as inter-related factors of a single system, and has sustained them all within its all-embracing unity, as their common and ultimate basis and bond of union.

Kant.—Kant, in his brilliant work, General Natural History and Theory of Heavens (1755), first clearly brought out the true implication of the world-wide causality and inter-connection among things. "It is this very mechanical order of Nature, embracing all phenomena," there he tells us, "according to whose laws the particular elements act and re-act upon one another, which witnesses to one common ground of the universe, one infinite power, which stirs in each particular element. The individual atoms are points of forces, not small extended particles; and the fact that they act and re-act upon one another, according to laws, proves that there is no original and absolute separation between them. Had every element in the world its own particular nature, it could only be an accident if they fitted together so as to render a connected system of things possible. Their reciprocal connection would be impossible, if they were not collectively dependent on a common ground. In this common ground, both the mechanical order and the purposiveness of nature find their explanation" (Höffding, History of Modern Philosophy, Vol. II, pp. 42-43). This was an epoch-making declaration. But, amidst the tumults and bustles of the activities of the critical period, Kant often lost sight of the old tract of his thought, and was even led, in his first Critique, to regard 'change' as merely applicable to 'empirical reality.' But, even during this period, Kant's old vision, re-appeared from time to time. "That which lies at the base of the matter of our knowledge," he frankly suggested even in his first Critique, "may be identical with that which determines the form, under which we arrange the same—and that which underlies material phenomena may be the same which underlies the spiritual phenomena." In the Critique of Practical Reason, he was similarly led to think of "the possible identity of the basis of the world of nature with that of the world of freedom" (Höffding, *Ibid*, pp. 104-5). In his Critique of Speculative Psychology, he was also driven to think that "that which underlies outer phenomena may be the same as that which underlies inner phenomena. If this were so, there would be an end to dualism, and also to all difficulties which have arisen concerning the reciprocal action between soul and body" (*Ibid*, p. 63). In his last Critique, the same vision returned to him once again, and he declared, once more, probably "that which underlies the causal relation between things, also underlies the purposiveness and the harmony of Nature"; and "that the world of nature and the world of freedom are not absolutely separate, but must have a common foundation" (*Ibid*, pp. 109, 107). Though Kant, failed to work out the idea involved in these profound and far-reaching suggestions, yet he was quite confident that philosophy, to be worthy of its name, must, in its attempt to offer a satisfactory explanation of the world, carefully consider the fact of the world-wide inter-connection among the various parts of the cosmic system, and that between the world of nature and the world of freedom, and its full implication and significance. He, in fact, regarded the conception indicated in the afore-said utterances "as a final view, a concluding hypothesis, of very great value for enquiry." And "the continuity of Kant's philosophical development," as Höffding aptly observes, displays itself most clearly at this point. And his speculative followers took up the work where he had left it.

Herder.—The same conception also very strongly presented itself to Herder, a contemporary of Kant, and found a bold expression in him. He transformed Leibnitz's doctrine of Monads into a doctrine of "organic forces'; and these, he held, in analogy with the active forces operative in us, operate, in different degrees, and at different stages throughout the whole of Nature. "The force, that thinks and works in me," said he, "is, in virtue of its nature, a force as eternal as that which holds the sun and the stars together." (*Ibid*, p. 114).

Hegel :—In Hegel, this conception found a still clearer expression. Though Nature and the mere life of mind seem to stand opposed to and independent of each other, yet they exist, said he, as necessary factors and complementary elements of the concrete Reality. *An orderly external world is indispensable, as a necessary correlate for the existence of a self-conscious mind.* In order to exist as a self-conscious spirit, the mind must needs be conscious of an objective, orderly and inter-related world of plurality. And, as our own self-conscious spirit is the highest form of reality we are aware of, Nature and mind, Hegel concluded, must exist, in the very core of Reality, as complementary elements of one concrete whole; and the Ultimate Reality must be a principle of Unity-in-difference, a spiritual principle, both a plurality and a unity. It must be "a differentiated unity," as Dr. McTaggart puts it, "in which the unity has no meaning but the differentiations, and the differentiations have no meaning but the unity. The differentiations are individuals, for each of whom the unity exists, and whose whole nature consists in the fact that the unity is for them, as the whole nature of the unity consists in the fact that it is for the individuals" (Studies in Hegelian Cosmology, p. 7).

Hegel, however, committed a great mistake in thinking that his Logic was identical with Absolute knowledge, and that its categories were "the explication of the Absolute," the expression of "God's nature in thoughts as such." In so far as human knowledge grasps, and lays hold of the Reality, it may be said to coincide with the innermost essence of existents, as real constituents of its very being, and not as merely subjective. But it is absurd to think that the philosopher's knowledge of the Reality, however complete it may be, actually covers its whole content; and yet, Hegel, in the intoxication of the consciousness of the significance of his great contributions, actually advanced such a pretentious claim on behalf of his Logic, and presumed that his categories really amounted to an explication of the Absolute Mind. Even when we are fully satisfied, to use Green's words, "that the world in its truth, or full reality, is spiritual, because, on no other supposition, is the unity explicable, we may still have to confess that a knowledge of it in its spiritual reality—such a knowledge of it as would be a knowledge of God—is impossible to us. To know God, we must be God. The unifying principle of the world is indeed in us; it is our self. But, as in us, it is so conditioned by a particular animal nature that, while it yields the idea of the world as one which regulates all our knowledge, our actual knowledge is a piecemeal process. We spell out the relations of things one by one, we pass from condition to condition, from effect to effect; but, as one fragment of truth is grasped, another has escaped us, and we never reach that totality of apprehension, through which alone we could know the world as it is, and God in it" (Works, Vol. III, p. 145). Hegel's mistake was to ignore this great truth. But nevertheless, the real object of the dialectical method is, undoubtedly, to show that all existents stand intimately inter-connected, like thoughts in an individual mind—that they all form an organic totality. "In fact, for Hegel, as for Aristotle, truth and knowledge are," as Adamson puts it (Development of Modern Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 274), "but different expressions for the same; and the assumption that thoughts form a complete system, the abstract expression of reality, is but saying, in other words, that truth is a systematic whole, which stands in no need of extraneous support."

The term 'thought,' by which Hegel designated the ultimate essence of reality, was also somewhat unhappy. But, by thought, he certainly meant, to use Prof. Bosanquet's words, (Principle of Individuality, p. 65), "what most people mean......when they speak of feeling. For, if we admit thought to be in part intuitive......there is no longer anything to prevent it from reproducing the character of feeling, in the sense of immediate apprehension."

But Hegel's greatest mistake was to think that he could deduce the forms of reality from one ultimate principle. In his system, light, weight, magnetism, electricity, chemical processes, and organic life, have all been represented as necessary phases in the gradual self-evolution of the Absolute. Not only so, bold attempts have been made in it to show that all plants and living organisms have been evolved, one after another, in a regular succession. But it was, indeed "a delusion to suppose," to use Lotze's words, "that the forms of reality, while still inaccessible to observation, could be deduced from a single fundamental principle. All that could be done...... was to reduce to it the material already given by experience, with its attendant residuum of peculiarity, which cannot be explained, but must be simply accepted as a fact." (Met. Vol. II, pp. 378-79).

Lotze:—Lotze, in avoiding Hegel's blunder, took up the problem where Kant had left it. A plurality of real elements, in reciprocal action, constitutes the foundation of the mechanical conception of nature. "But what is the relation," asks Lotze, "between the elements and the inter-connection, in which they exist? Could they, apart from the inter-connection, exist independently?......Reciprocal action and inter-action cannot take place in the air, over or between the elements; it pre-supposes their inner unity," and, as the ground and basis of that unity, "an infinite all-embracing Being, of which the moments, or points of action, are the particular elements" (Höffding, *Ibid*, pp. 513-14). Could there be a world-order, he asks, without its being based on an infinite and all-embracing principle, capable of bringing together "any plurality to the unity of any definite relation," or of maintaining such a unity, "if it were not, at the same time, present in each individual of the plurality, and sensitive to every state occurring in all other individuals, and capable also of bringing the reciprocal relations of all into the intended form by an alteration of position, determined by reference to their remoteness from the point aimed at ?" (Lotze, Microcosmus, Vol. II, p. 675). And, if the conception of a cosmic order implies the presence of such an infinite and all-pervading ordering Being, as the ultimate basis and the support of the world of plurality, the conception of a moral order, adds Lotze, carries us further still. The world is, not only a system of inter-related factors, but also contains unmistakable traces of organic, social and moral evolution. And, if the world is a moral order, as it undoubtedly is, the all-pervading ordering Being must needs be a spiritual principle—a Being, who can consciously regulate the activities of the elements, assign to each its own proper place and function in the system, discriminate between good and bad, and is, at the same time, capable of realising the good, with his "own living love." The world of plurality must, therefore, be regarded, as necessary modes of the self-manifestation of one Ultimate Reality, that, as the agent, which evolves them, and as the subject, which thinks, designs, and regulates them, eternally maintains itself, in and through them, the materials of its own conscious life, as the Absolute Spirit.

Romanticism tried to deduce the forms of reality from the highest idea ; and this proved an impossible task. Lotze, however, starting from the former, has reasoned back to their ultimate pre-supposition. "Not deduction," says he, "but reduction is possible ".; and, from a plurality of elements in reciprocal inter-connection, he infers the presence of one infinite spiritual principle, as their ultimate ground and support, and bond of their unity, and inter-connection. It is, however, only in our own selves that we have a direct vision of the ultimate nature of reality "*a cognitio rei*, as distinct from a *cognitio circoa rem*". And, as all inter-related factors of the system, and the basic principle underlying the same, must needs be essentially homogeneous in character to make their unity and inter-connection possible, all existents, Lotze argues, must be "feeling beings," animated in different degrees, and the Ultimate Reality, realised in them all, must be a self-conscious spiritual principle, seeking to realise an end. As the ultimate ground and support of all its modes, it is immanent in them all; and yet, as an eternal and inexhaustible fountain of resources, it is unexhausted in the totality of its modes, and transcends them all. This is Lotze's Pantheism.

"Not deduction," says Lotze, "reduction is possible."

The Vedantic Pantheism

We must, however, confess, at the very outset, that, in the Vedānta, we meet with both these attempts having been made side by side. But the Vedāntic attempt at deduction was, as it was then bound to be, very modest in its nature, and it never assumed the character of a pretentious attempt at the explication of the content of the Absolute. The Vedāntists knew that the creative thought, like the reproductive thought of man, begins with the most abstract, the most intangible. The concrete forms of reality, they accordingly thought, must have gradually evolved at different stages of creative evolution. But, at the same time, they were fully conscious of the inscrutable ways of the operation and self-manifestation of the creative principle. And hence, they always spoke with diffidence and in a faltering voice, in their attempts at the deduction, if deduction we can call it, of the plurality of existents from the Reality. These attempts have, accordingly, taken the shape of mere general statements. And, even in these general statements, thinkers are divided amongst themselves; and the Upaniṣads themselves bear witness to these differences of opinion.

The profound conviction of the cosmic unity engaged the most serious attention of the Vedāntists, and have been the starting point of their philosophical speculation. The inter-action among the plurality of existents, and the unity and harmony in the world-whole, coupled with the inner experiences of life, naturally forced upon them the conception of an ultimate source and inner bond of the world of plurality. And the pages of the Upaniṣads, the Vedānta Sūtras, and the Gītā, abound in utterances containing vivid and clear expressions of this sense of the cosmic unity. "All these existents, my dear," declares Uddālaka to his son, Śvetaketū (Chh. Up., VI. 8, 4), "have their being, unity and support in the Reality," Sanmūlāḥ soumyemāḥ sarvāḥ prajāḥ, Sadāyatanāḥ satpratiṣṭhāḥ. "This Self," adds the same Upaniṣad, (VIII, 4, 1), "is the support of all these worlds—the ground of their unity and existence." "That all-pervading Reality," it further adds (VIII, 14, 1), "which has evolved from within the world of plurality, and wherein they all exist, is Brahman (the Supreme Self)." The Brih. Up. similarly declares (II, 5, 15), "He is the internal Ruler of the plurality of existents. As the spokes of a wheel are united together in the nave and the felly, so in this Self are united...all worlds, all gods, all beings, and all individual souls." In the same Upaniṣad, Yājnavalkya, in reply to Uddālaka, declares,—(III. 7, 2-13) "He who is immanent in the earth, and yet transcends it, whom the earth knows not, whose mode (body) the earth is, who regulates and guides it from within, He is thy Self, the imperishable internal Ruler. He who is in water, and yet transcends it, whom water does not know, whose mode water is, and who regulates and guides it from within, He is thy Self, the imperishable internal Ruler. He who is in the fire, yet transcends it, whom the fire knows not, whose mode the fire is, and who regulates it and guides it from within, He is thy Self, the imperishable internal Ruler ...... He who is in all things, and yet transcends them all, whom these things know not, whose modes they are, and who regulates and guides them from within, He is thy Self, the imperishable internal Ruler ...... He who is in our reason, and yet transcends it, whom the reason comprehends (knows) not, whose mode it is, and who regulates and guides it from within, He is thy Self, the imperishable internal Ruler ...... He sees unseen, hears unheard, thinks unthought of, knows unknown. There is no other seer beyond Him, no other hearer beyond Him, no other thinker beyond Him, no other knower beyond Him. He is thy Self, the imperishable internal Ruler. Everything different from him is transcient." In the same Upaniṣad (IV. 4, 13 & 22) we are further told, "He is the 'evolver' of the world of plurality ; He is the moulder, guide and ruler of all. He is the support of the world ; He is the world itself : He is the support of all these, their common ground of union and existence." The Kaṭha Up., II. 2, 12, likewise, declares, " He is the one Ruler, the Soul of all things and beings, who manifests His one Self into many forms (Ekaṁ rupaṃ vahudhā yaḥ karoti). Those sages, who see Him in themselves, have alone peace eternal, and not others." The Śvet. Up., III. 15, likewise, declares, " Being is all this, all that has been, and all that is to be." The same Upaniṣad again says, VI. 12-13, "He is the Guide and Ruler ...... He evolves many forms from His own essence. He is the Real of the reals (Nityo nityānāṃ), the Consciousness of the conscious (Chetanaschetanānāṃ), and alone provides the needs of the world of plurality (the many). The sages, who see Him in their own selves, alone have peace eternal, and not others." " That bright One is immanent in all things, and is all-pervading," it adds, (VI. 11.),—" He is the inner Soul, and Guide of all existents, the Regulator of their activities, the universal in-dwelling Spirit, the universal Witness and Inspirer, the self-existing Ultimate Reality, Who is, at the same time, beyond and above all His modes." The Īśa Up., 5, similarly declares, "He is immanent in all, and also transcends all. And he, who sees all existents in the Self, and the Self in all, hates none."

These utterances—and the Upaniṣads are full of such declarations—are quite significant. In these declarations, we have, no doubt, the final conclusions clearly stated and summed up, with the intermediate steps and reasonings left out or undeveloped. Instructions, in those days, were imparted orally. It is, therefore, no wonder if, in the records of the teachings, the intermediate steps were generally omitted, or left undeveloped. But, although the intermediate steps are not there, the final conclusions stand there conspicuously, and their import is quite unmistakable. The intermediate steps, though left out or undeveloped, are also clearly indicated in the conclusions themselves. But are the intermediate steps really left out entirely? No, by no means. Bādarāyana has distinctly told us, in dealing with the Sāṅkhyan Dualism, the Atomism of Kaṇāda, and other non-Vedāntic schools, that the cosmic unity is inexplicable except on the supposition that all the elements constituting it have a common ground of their unity, and that the wonderful adaptations and organisation displayed in the universe most conclusively proves that the world-evolving principle is an Infinite Spirit. As integral parts of one systematic doctrine, all the arguments employed by Bādarāyana in demolishing the non-Vedāntic doctrines, must be understood as forming parts of the utterances just considered. And, thus understood, in these utterances and arguments, we find a constructive exposition of the entire Vedāntic Pantheism. The Upaniṣads themselves, particularly the Brih. and Chh. Upaniṣads, are also full of analogical arguments.

No metaphysics has ever been able to explain how the plurality of existents actually came into being out of one Ultimate Reality. Nor is it the business of metaphysics, as Lotze points out (Met., Vol. II, p. 416) to answer how "the inorganic elements of the earth's crust found themselves united in the form of crystals, capable of inhibition, and in systems endowed with life and growth; or again, how the atmosphere of the primitive world settled upon the earth, in the shape of protoplasm, and there struck roots of the most various kinds." These are questions for the science to investigate. The function of metaphysics is to start with the facts of experience, and to point out the nature of the general principles involved and pre-supposed in them—the principles in the light of which alone the facts of experience become intelligible. The Vedānta has also frankly confessed its inability to answer questions like the above. But it has, nevertheless, endeavoured, in its own way, to explain the most inscrutable problem of the transformation of the One into a world of plurality, and to make it generally intelligible. And it is interesting to consider here some of these attempts. This is how the Tait. Up., II. 6, describes the process of creation metaphorically,—"He (the universal Will) desired, 'I shall be many—I shall evolve many.' He then reflected, and evolved all these existents, and entered into them all, and thus became all that is visible and all that is invisible......all that is conscious, and all that is unconscious." "Alone He delighted not," the Brih. Up., I, 4, 1, tells us, "He wanted duality, and split Himself into two." Bādarāyaṅa, in his attempt to show the plurality, as mere modes of the self-manifestation of One causal Reality, says that the plurality arose from the self-transformation of the Supreme Will, Brahman, "like curd arising from milk." "Potters can make pots," says Nimvārka, in dealing with the passage, "only if equipped with necessary means and material. We must not, therefore, suppose, that Brahman (the Supreme Self), being devoid of all external resources, is not the cause of the world. By virtue of the inscrutable powers inherent in itself, Brahman transforms itself into the world of plurality, just as milk transforms itself into curd." Sankara also explains this Sūtra exactly in this way. Bādarāyana again compares (Vedānta Sūtras, II, 1, 19), the origin of plurality to "the unfolding of a folded canvas," Patavat-cha. "As the earth transforms parts of its contents into minerals of various descriptions, so does the Self," he again says, in II. 1, 22, "manifests itself into a plurality of existents." As the waves are, he adds (II. 1, 13), mere modes of the sea, so are all existents the modes of Brahman. In I. 4, 26, he further tells us that the world of purality consists of mere self-differentiations of Brahman, caused by self-modification. (Ātmakrteḥ pariṇāmāt.)

It is evident, from above, that the Vedāntic Reality is a principle of Unity-in-difference, an eternally self-differentiating Unity, manifesting itself in a plurality of modes. Yājnavalkya most emphatically tells us, Brih. Up., II, 3, 1. "The visible and the invisible, the perishable and the imperishable, things without motion,......and moving existents, the conscious and the unconscious, are the two modes of Brahman (Dve Brahmano rupe)." But Brahman is more than the sum total of its modes. The modes do not exhaust the Reality. He, accordingly, adds,—"*Not these (alone), not these (alone); it is not that there is nothing beyond these (modes). There is also an existence beyond all these.* He is, therefore, known as the Real of the reals. The vital airs, etc., are real; He is the Real of these reals."[1] In the Gītā, we are likewise told, in the mouth of the Absolute, as it were, (VII. 10 and 12), "Know Me, O Pārtha, as the germ of the world of plurality......Know all existents as evolved from Me. *I am not in them* (*not exhausted in them*); *they are in Me.*" It again declares, IX. 4-5, "My visible being pervades this world of plurality. All existents are in Me; I am not (contained) in them......I am the ultimate ground and support of all existents; *and that which supports them all is not* (*exhausted*) *in them.*"

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[1] This significant passage, like several other passages of its kind, has been grossly distorted and misinterpreted by Sankara.. Prof. Deussen, Dr. E. Roer, Mr. Gough, and several others, have simply uncritically followed Sankara. It is one of the clearest utterances of Vedāntic Pantheism. The above rendering of it is based on the only possible interpretation the passage admits of, and accepted unanimously by Nimvārka, Rāmānuja, Vijnānabhikṣu and Baladeva. Bādarāyana himself has also, in Ved. Sūt., III. 2, 22, distinctly indicated this to be the only meaning of the passage, and has told us that the Vedānta here "denies only so-muchness (etāvatvam) of Brahman; for it declares it to be more than all these." (Na hi etasmāditi neti, anyat param asti.)

In some places in the Upaniṣads, the origin of plurality has been described as an organic growth. "You cannot see, my dear, this tiny seed," says Uddālaka, for instance, to his son Śvetaketu, in Chh., VI., 12, 2-8, "out of which this huge Nyagrodha tree has grown. Believe me, my dear, this world of plurality has, likewise, come out of one subtle invisible principle....All these are but modes of the Self (aitadātmyamidaṃ Sarvaṃ)......O Śvetaketu, thou art (also) that, a mode of the Self (tatvamasi Śvetaketo).[1] The Mund., I. 1, 7-8, again declares, "as a spider evolves its cob-web from within, as a bright fire emits thousands of sparks, as plants grow from the earth, and hairs from a living body, so has the world been evolved from the Eternal Being. Brahman expanded itself, from an inner impluse; and thence arose the primal matter, thence vital energy, the mind, and all existents."

Now, these passages clearly reveal the mind of their authors. In their various attempts to state the Vedāntic position, they make no secret of their ignorance as to the manner of the origin of the plurality; nor do they like to dogmatise on the point. All they want to say is that the plurality has evolved from One Universal Will, Brahman, whose modes or manifestations they are. The cosmic order is thus, according to the Vedānta, a system of such inter-related modes, pervaded by One Infinite Will which, in obedience to a conscious inner impulse, has manifested itself in many forms, given them their places, connections, and functions, and also supports them all as necessary materials of its own self-conscious life as Concrete Spirit, with a view to realise one ultimate end.

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[1] This passage has also been grossly misinterpreted by Śaṅkara and his followers. Here every existent is clearly described as ātmyam, or mode of the Self; and Śvetaketu is told that he is also that, a mode of the Self, ātmyam.

N. K. Dutt

THE LATE SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEA

Hushed is the silvery voice of him who stirred
The frenzied throngs that followed blindly on,—
A Chief, who in the Senate had anon
Charmed the glad ears of them that heard.
Silent the fearless Knight, undaunted, true,
Who led his people with ambition great,
Nor flinched at his high task nor did abate,
Till India was enfranchised, framed anew.
Rests now the aged warrior, calm and still,
His glorious banner flapping idly by,
The laurel wreath upon his forehead high,—
A hundred fights his purpose did fulfil;
And India garbed in sable robe, draws near
To mourn a Champion She, Herself, did rear.

H. W. B. Moreno

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES UNDER THE CALIPHATE[1]

In the way of historical works very little has come down to us from the early days of Islam.[2] The first thing that the Muslims did was to collect oral traditions, which had grown tremendously in bulk and variety. Their very immensity called for arrangement and classification, and to this task the Muslims addressed themselves.

The oldest historical work—belonging to the second phase of Muslim activity—is the chronologically arranged collection of traditions relating to the life of the Prophet. Its author, Ibn Ishaq (d. 150 A.H.—767 A.D.) composed it at the instance of the Caliph Mansur. The original is lost. The book, however, that has come down to us is the one that passed through the hands of Ibn Hisham (d. 206 A.H.), who, without interfering with the text, has left it enriched with his own critical and philological notes.[3]

What strikes us most in the oldest historical works of the Arabs is their enthusiasm and their overpowering conviction of the importance of their endeavour. Nor can we fail to notice their inexhaustible industry in collecting information from most diverse sources and weaving it into one complete chaplet. Every statement is traced back to its ultimate source, and every link in the long chain of narrators, is carefully set forth. All this indubitably attests zealous research. Yet these achievements do not constitute finished historical works, such as we understand history to be; for nowhere do we find in them that characteristic stamp of the historian—the summing-up and the verdict.[1]

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[1] Continued from the issue of March 1924 of the Calcutta Review.

[2] *Die Orientalischen Literaturen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1906), p. 150. Prof. De Goeje speaks of *Ibn 'Uqba's* Life of the Prophet and *Abu Mikhnaf's* monograph on important events from the time of Abu Bakr to that of Walid II, as the oldest historical works known to us. All that we know of them is from the extracts which later writers have made and used in their works. These two works belong to the last days of the Omayyads. Ibn Ishaq belongs to the age of the Abbasids. Waqidi comes next. His chief merit lies in his minute study of the traditionists and in chronological details. His work was continued by his disciple *Ibn Saad.* Madaini, younger than Waqidi, wrote a history of the Caliphs. He was specially conversant with the history of the Eastern Lands of the Caliphate. Tabari has used him as his main source for this part of his history. *Saif Ibn Omar* has written a history of the apostacy of the Arabs under Abu Bakr, and has also described the great conquests. But he must be used with caution.

[3] Masudi, VIII, p. 291.

Ibn Hisham[2] died about 50 years after the death of the author, but in the handling of his material he shows a distinct advance upon the latter. Though he leaves the text uninterfered with, he yet collects the varying traditions, reveals critical insight, shows an inclination to test the sources from which the information comes, and expresses his opinion on their authenticity or otherwise. He devotes special attention to ancient poetry. He singles out interpolated verses. He explains out-of-the-way expressions, words, phrases, and treats the entire subject from the standpoint of a trained philologist.

A historian, almost as old as Ibn Ishaq, is Waqidi. A freedman, he sought fame and distinction through literary activities. And stupendous was his literary and historical output. He gathered together an[3] immense collection of biographical and historical material on the history of Islam right up to his own time. In the *History of the Companions of the Prophet,* he shows a notable advance upon his forerunners, in the handling of his materials. He does not indiscriminately marshal his facts, drawn from most diverse sources, but works them up into an independent narrative in his own words. Thus his work gives us the impression of a connected, coherent historical work, rippling with sunny humour, resplendent with a lively style. While the old historians confine themselves to subjects dearest to them—namely, the history of the Prophet and the rise of Islam—changed conditions evoked other interests. By large conquests and contact with foreigners historical vision was widened. In important towns, especially in Baghdad and Basra, the increase of wealth and prosperity stirred the passion for knowledge. Apart from the hitherto traditional subjects of study, such as tradition, theology, jurisprudence, other subjects now claimed men's interest and provoked their curiosity. In the mosques, which were then the centres for exchange of ideas, people discussed politics; they talked about foreign communities; they learnt the names of the old Persian kings and the Byzantine Caesars; they heard of Arabian antiquity and its legendary Kais and heroes. Nor was genealogy excluded

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[1] See Prof. York-Powell on 'History, Historians and the Teaching of History' Vol. II, pp. 1-13. Bossier's Tacitus, pp. 44 et sqq. and pp. 82-86.

[2] Abdullah Mohamed bin Ishaq bin Yasar, a freedman of Kais b. Makharama b. al-Muttalib, acquired at Medina a very thorough knowledge of the life of the Prophet. On account of the hostility, nay the positive ill-treatment, which he received in Medina he left the town in A.H. 115, and after a long residence in Egypt (where, especially in Alexandria, he studied and taught) he came to Kufa, visited Al-Rai, met in Hira the Caliph Al-Mansur, who induced him to collect traditions relating to the life of the Prophet and to spend the evening of his life at Baghdad. He died at Baghdad in 151 A.H. His credibility is questioned by some, but purely out of party-spirit. The utmost that can be urged against him is that he is not always very discriminating in dealing with genealogies. He had a pronounced leaning towards the doctrines of the Qadirites. *Wüstenfeld, Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, p. 8.

[3] Al-Waqidi was born at Medina in the beginning of the year 130 A.H. where he carried on the business of a corndealer. He was deeply versed in Muslim history, but his authority, in matters religious, is not accepted by the orthodox, because of his Shi'ite tendencies. He was exceedingly generous. On charitable purposes he lavishly spent the

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money he made in his trade. The result was that he got heavily involved in debt. He therefore decided to go to Baghdad and seek help there. He proceeded to the Wazir Yahya b. Khalid-al-Barmaki, who accorded him a very warm welcome. After several visits at each of which he received rich presents, the Wazir requested him to stay permanently with him. Waqidi accepted the offer, on condition that he was allowed first to settle his affairs at Medina. The Wazir gave him a house and 200,000 dinars. He utilized half of this amount in discharging his debts at Medina. On his return to Baghdad he was appointed *Kadhi* of the portion of the town on the western side of the Tigris. He loved and purchased books, and kept two slaves to copy books for him. He left behind a collection in 600 chests—each of which required two men to lift it. The Caliph Mamun transferred him from the western to the eastern side of the Tigris, called Askar-al-Mahdi, or Rusafa, where he died on the 11th of Zil Hijja 207 A.H. (823 A.D.). *Kitabul-Fihrist* (p. 99) states that Waqidi wrote twenty-eight books. Only a few have come down to us. I have in my possession his *Kitabul-Maghazi,* which was used by Sir William Muir, and which bears his extensive marginal notes.

from these discussions, for the descent of an individual tribe or a family was a matter of practical moment determining their position and fixing their rank.

Thus the circle of historical activities ever widened. Men sought to explore the hitherto unknown spheres of knowledge, and to make that knowledge popular. A new kind of historical literature, namely, the *Universal Compendiums*, was the result, wherein all that a cultured man needed to know was set down; for an old author says: "it often happens that in an assembly mention is made of a prophet, or of a king, or of a learned man, or of some genealogical questions, or of a historical event, or of the day of a battle; every one present then needs information regarding the event, the tribe, the reign of the ruler, the life of the man, or the history of a proverb of which mention has been made. I have myself seen men of noble descent who knew nothing of their origin, who could not mention the names of their own ancestors; even noble Mekkans have I seen who were unable to give any information concerning their relationship with the Prophet or his honoured companions. I have also known people belonging to a family without knowing to which subdivision of a tribe the family belonged. So also have I known a family belonging to a sub-division of a tribe without knowing which was the main tribe. Also have I known a man who, in seeking to escape the reproach of obscurity of descent, named as his ancestor one who had died childless.[1]"

To meet such needs they prepared comprehensive handbooks for general use. Such a one is the *Kitab-ul-Ma'arif* (Book of Knowledge) of Ibn Qutaiba (about 276 A. H., 889 A. D.). This methodical, novel piece of work marks a considerable advance, for it is short and compact, and is written to be committed to memory. The book[2] begins with the Creation, and the author cites biblical passages referring to it in literal translation; so also with the section regarding the creation of man and his fall. Then follows the history of the patriarchs according to biblical and Arab legends. For the latter he uses the highly doubtful Wahb Ibn Munabbih, whose lying tales provoke an observation which clearly shows that the author feels called upon to judge between contradictory reports.[1] He then deals with those old Arabs who had renounced pre-Islamic Heathenism.[2] This is followed by a lengthy section on the genealogy of the Arab tribes—supplemented by biographies of the Prophet, his kinsmen, his adherents, and finally the Caliphs up to the time of the author. The next section contains an account of persons who are famous in the history of Islam, and sundry notices. The book concludes with a history of the South Arabian dynasties before Islam and of the Persian kings. What has been said suffices to show the great change that had come over the conception of historical literature. The old traditional view is, to a great extent, set aside, and the intellectual vision considerably widened. The history of the Prophet forms now only a part of the whole; non-Muslim nations claim attention; and translations from Hebrew, Persian and other foreign languages are made use of. From a different angle of vision history is now treated. Even the tendency to look at the events of the past *not* merely from a religious point of view, gains ground and extends more and more. At the Muslim Court itself the real annals—in which the reign of every prince is minutely described—come into vogue. We are told that, under the Caliph Mutamid, such a record was once sent for to ascertain whether any of the former rulers had been as generous as he in making a present of a thousand pieces of pretty stuff to a favourite female singer. The informant adds that the Court lackeys brought in the *Annals of the Empire*: they were large folio volumes.[3]

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[1] Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitab-ul-Ma'arif*, p. 3.

[2] Ibn Qutaiba, pp. 6-8.

[1] Ibn Qutaiba, p. 28. [2] Ibn Khallikan, Vol. II, p. 22. [3] Aghani, XIV, p. 114.

The passion for history increased more and more, and foreign non-Muslim peoples were not ruled out of consideration. This is the characteristic feature of the new times. History brought in its train archaeology, geography, ethnography. The example set by great towns, especially Baghdad, stimulated such intellectual efforts.

Thus a writer of that age—Beladhuri, d. 279 A.H., 892 A.D. —who was educated and brought up in Baghdad, where he enjoyed the special favours of the Caliph Mutawakkil—wrote a history of the Muslim conquests which, conspicuous by an absence of pedantry, not only exhibits excellence of method, but shows, throughout, tact and the tastes of a cultivated mind—accustomed to the best society—and freedom from the bondage of the school of the traditionists.

The tendency of the times to be interested in the history of antiquity and of foreign non-Muslim peoples is a tendency which can only manifest itself in a very advanced stage of civilization. A striking illustration of this is found in the voluminous works of a South-Arabian—a scion of one of the noblest families of Yaman. He set himself the task of writing the ancient history of his native land, of its tribes, and of the noble ruins that lay scattered there, and of explaining their inscriptions, as also of portraying its ethnographical and geographical conditions. This was Hamadani (d. 334 A.H., 945-6 A.D.). He relied for information on another South-Arabian, Abu Nasr Hirry, a genuine Himyarite, who was intimately acquainted with the legends and traditions of his people, and who, apparently, could even read the old Sabian inscriptions. In Hamadani we find these in transliteration and translation.[1]

For a long time it was believed that this work was lost, but my conjecture, hazarded to the contrary years ago, turned out true. On the attention of Captain Miles, English Resident at Maskat, being drawn to the Himyarite Qasidah edited by me,[1] he instituted enquiries, and found two fragments of this work: one the eighth and the other the tenth volume of this book. The contents of the entire work in ten volumes are as follows: (1) Primitive history and the beginnings of genealogy; (2) Genealogy of the descendants of Humaisa; (3) The merits of the Kahtanides; (4) Ancient History up to the time of King Tubba Abu Karib; (5) Middle period, from the beginning of the rule of Asad Tubba to Dhu Nawas; (6) Later period, up to the time of Islam; (7) The old sagas and legends; (8) The castles of Yaman and their inscriptions, the mourning songs of the Himyarites, and the inscriptions on the graves; (9) The proverbs of the Himyarites and their wise maxims in the Himyarite language, the *Musnad* inscriptions, etc.; (10) On Hâshid and Bakil.

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[1] *Cf.* Himyarite Qasidah, V.

It is clear from this that the work was not merely a historical work but embraced within its compass topography, antiquity, etc., etc. Thus, in the eighth book, we find a complete Sabaic alphabet, with Arabic transcription. Besides this, Hamadani has left a topography of Arabia, which, according to Sprenger, is the best book on the subject.[2]

Shortly afterwards, an author, apparently of Persian descent, supplied a *Chronological Compendium* of great importance, in which he bestowed special attention on the old history of Persia and on the chronological adjustment between the Mohamedan and the old Persian eras, and recounted the history of the Caliphate up to the year 350 A.H. This is Hamza of Ispahan. His book is typical of its kind, and simply states facts without naming his authorities. We see already the firm footing of the new school of history. In addition to what has already been said, we recall two other authors of note who are real pioneers in the realm of historical activity—Masudi (d. 354 A. H.; 956 A.D.) and Beruni (d. 430 A. H.; 1038-9 A. D.). Masudi was born at Baghdad, but was of North Arabian descent. In his early youth he took to travels, and visited the major portion of the Islamic world. He first went to India, visited Multan and Mansura; passed on from there to Persia and Kerman, and returned once again to India. He resided a long time at Cambaye (Kanbaja) and Saimur; went to Ceylon; and thence set sail for Yaman. Perhaps he even went to further India and China. After these extensive travels he resided in several provinces of the Caliphate. Thus he stayed for some time in Tiberias, in Antioch, and on the Syrian frontier, then at Basra, where for the first time he redacted his work which has come down to us; *Muruj-ul-Dhahab.* Later he went to Egypt, resided at Fustat (Al-Cairo), where he redacted his last work *Kitab-ul-Tanbih,* and soon afterwards passed away. His chief work—*Mir'at-ul- Zaman*(Mirror of the Time)—has only come down to us in fragments. It must have been of very considerable range. In the work which lies before us in its entirety—" The Golden Meadow"—an abridgement of his greater work—he gives us the treasures of his experience in the lively style of a narrator who has seen many countries, tested life at all points, and delights in not merely instructing but also in entertaining his reader. Without worrying us with the names of his authorities—without entering into long serious discussions, he loves, above everything else, to call attention to the wonderful, rare, striking facts and phenomena of his day, and to sum up men and their age in deftly woven anecdotes.

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[1] Von Kremer: *Uber die Sudarabische Sage*, p. 140.

[2] Von Kremer in Z. D. M. G.

Throughout he shows the very same lively interest in non-Muslim as in Muslim peoples. We may almost call him the Muslim Herodotus. Certainly his book stands unrivalled in its combination of instruction and amusement.

Very different is the activity of Beruni. Born in the North-West of India, he was, despite his Arab nationality, intimately familiar with the local language. He translated from Sanscrit into Arabic; accompanied Mahmud, the great conqueror, on his expeditions; acquired a thorough knowledge of astronomy and geography, which he set down in his *Al-Qanun-ul-Masudi.* His statement regarding the latitude has been found, by recent calculation, to be correct, except for a minute or two.

He wrote an exhaustive work on Chronology which is of profound importance for comparative geography, and distinguished himself as a scientist. His work on India is one of the most outstanding features of the older Arab literature.

The statement of Masudi in the introduction to his "Golden Meadow," that for the purposes of his book, he had read over fifty historical works of different writers, suffices to indicate the range and extent of the literary activity of those times. This activity did not, indeed, relax even when the glory of the Caliphate paled and faded. But *with the beginning of the Buyyid Rule, Arab culture definitely enters upon the era of its decline and fall.* And yet we possess some historical works [1] even of that period which are marked by excellence of presentation and rare insight into the manifold aspects of life.

In the beginning writers concerned themselves with the history of Islam. They next passed on to universal histories. But we notice sectional works too, and *that* at an early stage. They set to work at general biographies of famous contemporaries, or biographies of a particular class (Tabaqat), as, for instance, of the companions of the Prophet, of the traditionists, of the jurists, of physicians, poets, even lovers and madmen. They wrote histories of the wazirs, of individual magnates, and of parties and sects. I will only refer to the history of Religions and Sects—the work of

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[1] For instance, Ibn Miskawaih—author of the *Tajarib ul-Umam.* This work has now been published and translated into English by Prof. Margoliouth. "Miskawai, a convert to Islam, from Magianism, as Court Librarian under the Buwahid Sultans, held a position in which he had access to plentiful and accurate information, without being exposed to the devastating fury of those frequent political storms which made shipwreck of the fortunes of more important men than he. His first patron, Muized-Daulah, was Amir-al-Amara (Prince of Princes) from A. D. 946-967; his last, the Amir Adud ed-Daulah, died in 983.

Shahristani and to the no less remarkable work of the Spanish wazir, Ibn Hazm.[1] Somewhat later they went further still, and began to deal with the history of particular towns (as, for instance, the History of Baghdad, of Damascus, of Ispahan, of Baihaq, of Naisapur, etc., etc.), and not infrequently wrote books of immense bulk.

No less striking was their activity in the sphere of geography—a subject intimately connected with history. It happened thus. The need was soon felt for geographical knowledge; for in ancient poems names of places and of tribes were constantly referred to, and, in the traditions, in the history of the campaigns of the Prophet, and of later conquests, geographical proper names were of extreme frequency. The necessity for supplying information on these subjects was felt, and with that end in view geographical registers were composed, with short explanatory notes. With the growth of the Empire of the Caliph it became even a matter of practical importance to know the chief stations, the main high roads, the extent of individual provinces, their towns, rivers and mountains. Thus Ibn Hisham—the historian already referred to—wrote several geographical treatises in explanation of his historical works.[2]

A geographical work of Yaqubi,[3] dating from the year 278 A.H., has come down to us. It shows us that even then geography was treated systematically. Although its tendency is pre-eminently topographical, it contains the division of the provinces, and gives much ancillary information regarding revenue, commerce and industry. The more important towns it describes in greater detail. Baghdad and Samarra receive so thorough and circumstantial a treatment that if time had not completely effaced the traces of those ancient days, we would have been able to reconstruct an exact plan of these towns, with their network of streets, bazars and different quarters, just as they then stood. This work is not merely a transcript from earlier books, but is based, in large measure, on the author's own observations and experiences. The style is clear, simple, chaste, and conveys the impression of perfect reality.

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[1] Shahristani has been edited by Cureton and translated by Haarbrücker in German. A portion of Ibn Hazm, dealing with the Shiahs, has been translated into English by Friedlander and published in America. On Sharistani, zee, Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 359. Ibn Khall. (Du Slane's Text) Vol. I, p. 676.

[2] Hammer-Purgstall, *Litt.* Gesch. III, 386.

[3] See, Brockelmann, Vol. I. p. 226; Z.D.M.G. Vol. 40 p. 189, 612; vol. 41, p. 415; vol. 42 p. I. Beazley, Dawn of Modern Geography, Vol. I, Ch. VII.

The importance attached to geographical studies is best shown by the fact that high officers of Government prepared hand-books for official use, in which the lands of the Caliphate and those bordering on them were described as far as they were then known. Ibn Khurdadbah—whose acquaintance we have already made—is the first author known to us who prepared such an official itinerary, with precise information regarding the stations, postal relays, even the revenue, of each individual province.

Somewhat later Qudama followed, with a practical handbook for the use of the Central Chancery in Baghdad. He, too, dealt very thoroughly with the provinces of the Empire and the organization of the postal department, and gave a general geographical survey, noting, with particular care, the subdivisions of the provinces and the revenue payable by each land-unit. To this he added an account of the neighbouring foreign peoples and their countries. The system of finance, taxation, administrative law, next engaged his attention, and a short account of Muslim conquests, drawn from Beladhuri, concluded the work.

Very sound and complete was the geographical knowledge of Qudama. It is apparent that it rested upon his knowledge of astronomy—the writings of Ptolemy. He knew of the spherical form of the Earth, and of the shortness of the days in polar regions.

By such works as these a craving for knowledge was created and heightened. A minister at the Court of the

Samanides (Jaihani, between 279 and 295) composed, under the inspiration of Qudama, a yet more comprehensive work, which has come down to us in an evidently abridged form.[1]

The desire to see the world and the curiosity to know foreign countries and people increased more and more. The great ease with which caravans carried travellers through the whole of the world-wide Empire promoted a general interest in books of travel containing descriptions of countries and peoples. This inaugurated a real literature of travels, in which the writer recounted his own experiences, and only described the countries he actually visited, or regarding which he was in a position to get information. In this connexion Hamadani's *Description of Arabia* holds the first place. No less meritorious—though not so thorough or in all respects so accurate—is the work of Istakhri, a geographer regarding whose life, details are wanting, but who, probably about 340 A. H. (951-2 A.D), prepared a new edition of Balkhi (d. 322 A.H., 934 A.D.), in which he tried to correct his maps and considerably to amplify individual sections of his book, notably the section dealing with Persia, which, thus grew into a regular monograph by itself, and which contains so complete an account of Persia, at that period, that it may be regarded as the best piece of work done so far. What distinguishes Istakhri is his unfailing survey of trade, commerce, industry, natural products and the ethnographical conditions of the country under consideration.

Even in Maps we notice an improvement, for an old writer, who wrote about the end of the Xth century A.D., tells us of having seen a large map of the world on a canvas.[2] The keenness of interest in geographical literature is best revealed by a new edition of Istakhri, prepared by Ibn Haukal.[3] To qualify himself for the task he travelled for twenty-eight years, carrying with him the works of his precursors—Ibn Khurdadbah, Qudama and Jaihani.

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[1] Sprenger, Postrouten, XVII.

[2] Fihrist, 285.

[3] He lived about, 366 A. H.=976-7 A.D.

But Maqdasi, who wrote in A.H. 375 (985-6 A. D.), overshadowed them all. Here I follow Sprenger, to whom belongs the credit of having first called our attention to his book. There is no geographer, according to him, who travelled so widely, observed so acutely, and collected and used his materials so well according to plan, as did Maqdasi. True, as a traveller he is surpassed by others—for instance Ibn Batuta—who covered a greater distance than he; but no one who has left his experiences behind in writing travelled so thoroughly in Muslim countries, or resided in important places longer than he did—studying the life and the characteristics of the people. He did not, indeed, go so far as Sind or Spain, but wherever he did go—he mixed with all classes, and noted all that was of interest or of instruction for mankind.

Let us hear what he has himself to say. In his introduction he observes: "My book consists of three parts; the first what I have seen; the second what I have heard from credible people; and the third what I have found in books. No library, great or small, have I left unused—no theological tendency have I omitted to probe—no pious man have I failed to associate with and no preacher have I neglected to listen to until I learnt all I had come to learn. Many names have I borne such as: Maqdisi (*i.e.*, one from Jerusalem), Palestinian, Egyptian, Maghribian, Khorasanian, reader of Qur'an, Doctor (Faqih), sufi, saint, hermit, pilgrim, scribe, book-binder, merchant, moralist, leader, *muazzin*, preacher, foreigner, Iraqian, Baghdadian, Syrian, Hanafite, literary man, theological student, apprentice, authority on the law of succession, master, wise-man, *shaikh*, horseman, envoy, and all this because so many lands I visited and at so many places I took up my abode.

There is no experience of a traveller that I have not endured save that of a beggar's trade, or the commission of a deadly sin. I have been a jurist, and I have played the part of a man of letters. I have lectured on theology and philology. I have preached, and I have called the pious to prayer from the minaret of a mosque. I have led the faithful in prayer, and I have delivered lectures at madrassahs. I have dined with Sufis—shared the humble repast of the monk—enjoyed the sailor's fare. I was even once ejected from a mosque, one evening, to roam aimlessly in the desert. Solitude too have I known, and forbidden food—against my better judgment—have I tasted. I have associated with the hermits of Lebanon—I have lived at the courts of princes. At times I have owned slaves—at others, as a pedlar, I have carried a basket on my head. Often have I been on the point of being drowned, and not infrequently has my caravan been plundered. I have made calls on judges and magistrates. Mighty princes and ministers have given me a hearing, and then again have I joined a robber's band or sat in the market as a petty trader. From galleys I have watched the Byzantine naval warfare and, of nights, have I heard the chime of Christian bells. I have even once carried on the trade of a book-binder, and yet again I have paid for a drink of water with a silver coin. In a palanquin I have sat, and a horse have I ridden through heat and snow. With distinguished folk I have waited in the porch of princes, and yet again humbly sat among the populace in the weaver's bazar. Much honour and consideration have fallen to my lot! But, as against this stroke of felicity, more than once my life has been in danger. I have performed the pilgrimage to the holy towns; taken part in campaigns in enemy country; have helped in the defence of frontiers. In Mekka I have taken barley-water, and in the market eaten peas. Like Abraham, I have enjoyed both the hopitality in Hebron and the figs in Ascalon—which any one may pluck. From princes I have received presents and robes of honour, but poverty and destitution, too, have I known. Great men have corresponded with me, and have sought my counsel, but reproaches and abuses I have not been spared, and when suspected of heresy or of questionable action. I have had to demean myself by taking an oath. Amirs and Qadhis have appointed me their plenipotentiary, and in more than one will I have been appointed executor. The tricks of the broker and of the robber I have come to know. Poor men have sought me, but the envious laid traps for me and made complaints aginst me to the authorities. The hot baths in Tiberias and the castles in Persia I have visited. I have taken part in the *feast of the fountain*, as also at the *Barbara-festival* at Antioch. I have examined the spring water of Bir Bida'ah and the Castle of kasr Yaqub. I have been present at the feast of Mihrjan and that of the Holy Lady, and also at the Celebration of the New Year at Aden (the feast of the Holy Sergius). And so I may go on and on, but enough has been said to show that my book is the fruit of experience, and is distinguished from those that are based on hearsay. While trevelling I have paid out more than 10,000 Dirhams as compensation for repeated neglect of divine service, and have been compelled to avail myself of all the indulgences allowed by the various sects. Never, on the great Caravan road, when between me and the approaching town lay a distance of 10 *parasang* or less, did I fail to leave the caravan and hasten to survey the town. For this purpose I have often employed guides, and have travelled through the night to enable me to join my fellow-travellers—all this involving much expense and trouble."

Maqdasi is not free from vanity, but what he says of his book is not an empty boast. He made two journeys, and took endless pains to ascertain facts and acquaint himself with the truth. After his first journey he wrote his book (985 A.D.), but, after the second, he prepared a fresh and enlarged edition.

In his work he develops original and notable ideas. The fact that, for the most part Muslim territory resembles a number of oases separated from each other by desert or steppes, seems to have induced him to lay special stress upon the classification of the Muslim countries. He wished to avoid lumping together tracts with entirely different physiognomies. He adopts the principle that a country may be likened to an army. According to him villages correspond to common soldiers—country towns, which are the centres of the civilization of several villages, to subordinate officers—provincial chief towns to generals—and metropolitan towns to field marshals—for in them are concentrated the differing civilizations of the provinces.

Maqdasi is the last author who has described the whole of the Muslim Empire, and who deserves the name of a great geographer. Cramped by the narrow spirit of Arab-philology, Yaqut and Abdul Feda are mere learned compilers who lay more stress upon words and rely more upon book-reading than upon their own experiences and observations. True, quantitatively, geographical activities continued for long, but without the originality of earlier days.

As a last instance of an Arab savant who devotes his whole life to letters, and, at the same time, travels over the whole of the Muslim Empire, Yaqut deserves honorable mention. The travelling savant is a characteristic feature of oriental civilization, and we should not omit to note it.

Yaqut was a Greek by birth (b. about 574 A. H ; 1178-9 A. D.). A prisoner of war as a boy, he came, as such, to Baghdad, where he was purchased by a merchant, under whom he received an excellent business training. Scarcely fourteen, he accompanied his master in his extensive travels, and by 590 A. H. (1194 A. D.) he had visited three times the island of Kish on the Persian Gulf. But at Baghdad he passed his youth and manhood until 610 A. H (1213 A. D.).

Twenty years before—590 A.H.—he had had a quarrel with his master, and following a natural bent sought to earn his living by transcribing books, and at the same time, zealously devoting himself to studies—particularly of grammar and tradition. In the year 596 A. H. he was reconciled to his earlier master, and made a fourth journey to Kish. On his return he found that his master had died. He then started an independent business of his own as a book-seller, and also entered upon the career of an author.

From the year 610 A. H. his travels began on a grand scale—at first from Baghdad to Tabriz and, then, through Mosul to Syria and Egypt. Here he continued his literary studies. In 612 A. H. he proceeded to Damascus, but his stay there was cut short by reason of a religious controversy. Via Aleppo he went to Irbyl, and thence to Urmiya and Tabriz. From there he moved on to Khorasan, and was so charmed with Naisabur (Nishabur) that he decided to stay there some time (613 A. H.). He purchased a young Turkish slave-girl, of whom he says that God created none so beautiful. But his means were insufficient, and, to his lasting regret, he had to part with that charming slave-girl. From Naisabur he traversed Sarrakhs, Herat, and Merv. He found there a friendly reception. The inhabitants loved to help poor scholars, and more—here he found full satisfaction for his literary tastes—for in the town he came across no less than ten libraries. Two of these collections were in the great mosque ; of these one, the 'Aziziya', consisting of 12,000 volumes, was named after its founder—the wealthy wine-merchant of Sultan Sunjar. The other eight were located in different colleges (madrassahs). In the use of the books the curators were so liberal that they constantly allowed our traveller to take away to his rooms two hundred volumes, at a time, although many a book was worth more than 200 dinars. Amidst these literary treasures he lived and had his fill, during a three years' stay, forgetting even his beautiful Turkish slave-girl. Here he gathered the largest portion of his material for his great geographical dictionary.

He then made an incursion into Badghys (616 A. H.); returned to Merv, and thereupon proceeded northward to see Khwarizm (Khiva), still unvisited by him. He made the return journey up the Oxus, and went first to Balkh, where he did not stay long, for the news of the threatening invasion of the Mogols was everywhere causing dreadful panic. Apparently he intended to return to Merv once again, to collect his belongings there, but he got only as far as Shobarkan, for the news of the advance of the Mogols, who in the very same year (617 A. H.) conquered Samarqand, induced him to take the shortest route to Khorasan.

Across Shahristan, Samalkan and Bistam, he went to Ra'y, which he found, for the most part, devastated. Thence he bent his steps to Kazwin, and then on to Tabriz, where he returned seven years after his first visit. He continued his journey from Tabriz to Irbil, and arrived, as a pauper, in Mosul, where he earned a scanty living by copying manuscripts. His friends in Aleppo, whom he informed of his sorrowful plight, sent him money to enable him to go to them (619 A.H.). But soon he returned to Mosul again, to complete his geographical dictionary, which kept him occupied for over two years (620-1 A.H.). Scarcely was this work done when the old passion for travel flamed forth again. He visited Palestine and Egypt afresh (624 A.H.)—returned once again to Aleppo (625 A.H.), where he began to make a fair copy of his geographical dictionary for his great patron, the Wazir of Aleppo.

But in the following year, death overtook him, in an inn outside the town, just as he was on the point of starting for another touring expedition (According to Wüstenfeld, Z.D.M.G. xviii 397 sqq).

I know of nothing which brings home to us a picture of the Muslim zeal for truth more clearly and emphatically than an account of the travels of this last great Arab geographer.

The Mogul menace, which was to destroy the throne of the Abbasids and the old Baghdad, begins its steady forward course, but it does not, in the slightest degree, interfere with the quiet work of our author in the libraries of Merv. In his flight he saves the greatest portion of his gathered materials, and though, hardly at leisure or in peace, he sets to work to complete his task before he embarks on his last journey—never to return.

Of such travel-loving scholars Arabic literature furnishes an endless list. To this passion for travel the pilgrimage to Mekka supplied the first incentive. The search for traditions occasioned the earliest travels in the pursuit of knowledge—later, other branches of learning followed suit.[1] It was a practice, which continued to later times, to deliver literary and scientific instructions orally. It was not enough to study the book of a renowned author—but, according to Arab view, one must actually hear the author personally deliver the lectures, or study the book under his direct supervision, for thus only was a kind of proof of study established. On this great value was set, as it entitled the holder to deliver independent lectures on the book so studied.

Great is the number of these learned travellers, and Makkari, in his *Spanish History under the Moors* has a special chapter dealing with the travellers who, in quest of learning, travelled far East facing all danger and evading no trouble. Such travels were regarded as God-pleasing work—nay a religious duty. A saying of the Prophet is quoted—"He who leaves his home in search of knowledge walks in the path of God until his return home." Another saying runs thus, "God makes easy the path of paradise to him who makes a journey for the sake of knowledge." Stories are related of the pious who, in the beginning of Islam, travelled for months to secure a new tradition or even a variant of one such tradition.[1] Apart from commercial reasons, other motives, later, heightened this passion for travel. Along with the holy places—Mekka and Medinā—which the Muslims were enjoined to visit, early, indeed, was the visit to the mosque of Jerusalem recommended. And, with the rise of Saint-worship, the number of places for pilgrimage—true, of a lower plane—endlessly multiplied. For people of culture libraries, educational institutions, professors of far-flung fame exercised a powerful magnetic influence,. Every student, who aimed at a high place at home, must needs hear lectures at the great mosques of Mekka, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, or other centres of literary and religious life.

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[1] It was not uncommon for the pilgrims, in their journey from home to Mekka, to keep careful diaries, and, on their return home, to make books out of such diaries, containing their experiences and descriptions of the countries and towns visited. Such a work is the book of Ibn Jubair—a Spanish traveller from Granada.

In the beginning it was specially for tradition, exegesis, law, and theology that they made extensive journeys. Later, other branches of learning, too, inspired in the disciples, an enthusiasm quite as great as that inspired by the subjects mentioned. This was specially the case with philological studies, because of their close connexion with the branches of religious learning. To study the Arabic language in its perfect purity; to collect the old popular songs and proverbs philologers lived among the Beduins.

Azhari, whose caravan was attacked and plundered on its way through the desert, regarded his captivity and stay, for sometime, among the Beduins, as a piece of sheer good luck. Even from remote India came such lovers of learning, and, with entire justice, a keen observer of Arab life says that this craving for travel was of the highest significance for the diffusion of Arab culture. As the prevailing language of all literary and scientific lectures was Arabic, hailing from wheresoever he might, in the vast Empire of Islam—a new-comer was perfectly at home in a mosque or a lecture-room. Language was never a bar or hindrance to him. Thus the constant influx of travellers; of men eager to learn and to see; of the wise and the ambitious—introduced into the intellectual life of the people a great variety and multifariousness. With the good or evil report of the lecturers the travellers carried far away also their opinions and views. Thus not merely copies of new works but also new thoughts and ideas rapidly made their way all over the Islamic Empire. Through the study of Greek philosophy—carried on with ardent zeal at Baghdad in the ninth and tenth centuries—all this stir and ferment soon affected and leavened the masses.

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[1] Ihya, II 283.

Kushairi reports how, in Eastern Khorasan the first messenger of the new ideas was greeted, and how Mekka received the news from a much-travelled scholar (who had rejected the commonly cherished anthropomorphic conceptions of the Deity) of the rise of a new school of religious science at Baghdad.[1]

It is clear from what has been said that the knowledge which gained most from these travels was the geographical knowledge.

In intimate connexion with the growth of geographical knowledge stand mathematical, astronomical and the natural sciences, which attained a high development in the school of Baghdad. With the accession of the Abbasids, great ardour arose in the study of Greek works in the Arabic translations of the Syrian Christians, as also works in Persian and Indian rendered into Arabic by learned Persian and Indian translators. Passion for learning grew more and more, and the old contempt of the Arabs for foreigners was wholly discarded. Astrology—upon which they set great store,—led to the study of astronomical and mathematical works, and out of these efforts soon arose a high order of intellectual activity, and a very extended literature of mathematics, natural sciences, and philosophy. It is not our intention to weary the reader with names and titles of books. Our object merely is to indicate the path which intellectual activities took; to survey the essential developments which stand to the credit of the civilization of the then East. The mathematical knowledge of the Arabs rested upon the Elements of Euclid, which, immediately on being translated into Arabic, was enthusiastically studied by them, and on which they made considerable advances. In the IXth century A.D. they borrowed from the Indians their decimal system, numerals and arithmetic.[1]

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[1] Haneberg: *Das schul-und Lehrwesen der mohammedaner* p 16

If not its origin, Algebra certainly owes its development to the Arabs. They used it for the solution of geometrical problems, by solving cubic equations geometrically.[2]

At the instance of the Caliph Mamun (about 280 A. H.) the mathematician Mahamed Ibn Musa, commonly called Khowarizimy, wrote a short Algebraical treatise which gave the best known and most useful illustrations drawn from every-day problems of life.[3] This treatise first introduced into Europe a knowledge of Algebra. The Latin translation of Khowarizimy served as a manual to the European scholars of the XVIth century supplying to them knowledge of Algebra earliest in point of time.[4]

Khowarizimy's learning, however, did not extend beyond the equation of the second degree, but, later, the Arabs learnt to solve problems of the fourth degree—nay, they advanced even to binomial equations of the fifth and the sixth degree.

In any event, it is a high distinction for the Arabs to have invented a very ingenious system of Algebraical formulæ long before they were thought of in Europe.[5]

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[1] Woepcke, in the *Journal Asiatique* 1863, pp. 27, 234, 442.

[2] Sédillot; *matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des sciences mathematiques*, p. 367. Also his *Histoire des Arabes*, pp. 259 et. sqq. Vol. II.

[3] The author himself calls attention to this fact.

[4] *Cf. Kholasat-ul-Hisab* by Baha-al-Din Amali. Trans. by A. Marre, Rome 1864. Also Ibu Abdullah Mohammed Bin Mursa's *Geometrical part of Algebra* trans. by Marre, in the *Nouvelles Annales* des *mathématiques*, Oct., 1846.

[5] Woepcke *Omer Alkhyyami*, p. 88. *Journal Asiat.* October, 1853, p. 323. October-November 1854, p. 351.

No less credit is due to them for their cultivation of Geometry—particularly the development of spherical Trigonometry. Already in the IXth century they were using the sine of the arc instead of the chord of twice the arc. By the introduction of tangents, they somewhat later simplified the representation of the properties of the circle.[1]

In optics they made considerable independent contributions.[2] The optician Al-Hazan (cf. Charles, Roger Bacon, pp. 289 et sqq.) took the correct view regarding the theory of vision; the refraction of light; the position of the image produced by curved mirrors; the centre of a concave mirror; the seeming dimensions of objects and the apparent increase in size of the sun and moon when near the horizon.

He shows that the refraction of a ray of light increases with the increasing density of the atmosphere. He proves that, as an effect of refraction, the light of the sun reaches us even when the sun has sunk below the horizon. To him also belongs the credit of having approximately determined the height of the layer of air surrounding the Earth.

More important still were the achievements of the Arabs in the domain of astronomy. At the instance of the Caliph Al-Mamun, the already referred to Khowarizimy undertook the task of preparing an abridged edition of the Indian Astronomical Tables (Siddhanta) which had already been translated by Fazari.[3] About this very time, probably, they began also to study Ptolemy, and, using the materials at hand, made independent advances of their own. Mamun ordered a revision of the astronomical tables of Ptolemy, and the revised tables (its author being Qahya Ibn Abi Mansur) were based upon observations made simultaneously at Damascus and Baghdad. The measurement of one degree of Meridian was also carried out.[1]

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[1] Sédillot: *matériaux* p 378. Even in geometry the Arabs borrowed the essentials from the Indians is evidenced by the Arabic word for *Sinus*—Arabic *Gaib* which correponds to the Indian *Jiva*. The European word *Sinus* is merely a translation of the corresponding Arabic technical term.

[2] A Spanish mechanic even invented a flying machine in which he actually flew into the air. Makkari II 873.

[3] Fazari was a Jew who was converted to Islam hy Mamun. He was his Court-Astronomer and Superintendent of the Observatories. Fibrist. p. 275. On Fazari, Hammer—Purgstall, *Lit. gesch. der Araber* III. 253.

The Tables of Ptolemy were corrected; the changes in apogee of the sun were ascertained; obliquity of the ecliptic was determined to be 23° 33′ 55″ and careful observation of the eqinoxes enabled them to fix with exactness the length of the year. Eclipses, comets and other heavenly phenomena were observed. Even then they detected spots on the sun.[2]

About this time lived Al-Farghani, the famous astronomer, whose writings in Latin translation were studied in the European Middle Ages, and who under the name of Alfraganus, enjoyed great authority. Even after the brilliant age of Mamun the zeal for these interesting studies did not abate. Especially did the three brothers, Mohamed, Ahmad and Hasan Ibn Shakir, distinguish themselves—a true family of savants. They made observations at their observatory at Baghdad, and fixed the obliquity of the ecliptic at 23° 35′.

With justice does Sédillot say: "what characterized this School of Baghdad from its inception was its scientific spirit. Proceeding from the known to the unknown; taking precise account of the heavenly phenomena; accepting nothing as true which was not confirmed by experience or established by experiment—such were the fundamental principles taught and proclaimed by the then masters of the sciences."

Renowned even in the European Middle Ages, Albategnius (Battany, d. 317 A.H., 929 A.D.) must needs be mentioned here. He made his observations at the observatory at Rakka in A.D. 880. Unfortunately his writings have not come down to us in the original text, and the Latin translations are anything but satisfactory.

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[1] Cf. Sprengar's *aufsätze im ausland* 1867, on the history of the measurement of the earth in antiquity NR. 43, 44, 45. The measurement of the Arabs. NR. 50

[2] Sédillot, Prolég. des tables astronomiques D'oloug-Beg, Paris 1847, I. viii-xiii.

We should not pass over in silence the family of Amagur. Ali Ibn Amagur and his son Abul Hasan continued their observations, with untiring patience, for nearly half-a-century (885-933 A.D.[1]) They followed with great care the courses of the different planets during certain definite periods and noted the differences which manifested themselves in their course in reference to the ephemerides. A contemporary astronomer says: Ali Ibn Amagur, whom we can unhesitatingly trust, assured me that he persistently continued his astronomical observations for three years, and that he always found differences in the position of the planets and the fixed-stars both as regards their longitude and latitude and particularly in their relative position to the ecliptic. He also found that the longitude of the moon, as determined by observation, was less by 16 minutes than that previously found and he added that he could not account for this difference.

The next generation enthusiastically carried on these researches and intellectual activities, which, specially under the Buyyid Sultans, made tremendous strides in Baghdad, for Asad-ud-Dudlah was a great friend and patron of astronomy. During his administration Abdul Rahman Sufi composed his uranography.[2]

But the astronomers Kuhy and Abul Wafa Buzgani eclipsed all their predecessors. They lived in Baghdad under the first Buyyid ruler. Thanks to the passion of this ruler for astronomy they constructed exceedingly costly instruments for astronomical observations. Thus in the year 996 A.D., the obliquity of the ecliptic was observed with a quadrant which had a radius of thirty feet. Another astronomer used for his observations in 992 a sextant with a radius of eighty feet.[1]

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[1] Sédillot, 1. 1. xxx vi.

[2] It reflects great credit on the Royal Russian Academy to have caused the publication of an important work of this astronomer. It is his list of the fixed stars: Description des étoiles fixes par Abdalrahman al-Sufi. French trans., with notes by H. C. F. Schjellerup, St. Petersbourg, 1874. In order to bring home the importance of the publication of such books I call attention to page 25 of this work on the alleged change of colour of Sirius, and the variation of the colour of the star Algol. Sufi died in the year 376 (A.D. 986).

The great Abulwafa (born in Buzgan A.H. 328, A. D 939 and on that account called Buzgani) settled down in Iraq in A.H. 348, 959 A.D., and there carried on scientific activity on a grand scale.[2]

His *Almagest* contains discoveries of great importance. We find there the formulae of the tangents and secants which the Arab geometricians used, just as we use them now, in our trignometrical calculations. By the time of Albategnius they had substituted the sine for the chord. A century later, by the introduction of the 'tangents,' Abulwafa simplified the treatment of the properties of the circle.[3]

According to the researches of Sédillot it even seems that Abulwafa, in his studies of Ptolemy's theory of the moon, discovered, besides the centre-equation and eviction, a third inequality which is nothing more nor less than the variation determined by Tycho-Brahe six centuries later.[4] Without accepting this statement as absolutely correct, for it has been disputed—though, I think, on insufficient grounds,—so much is beyond doubt, that the school of Baghdad, in the IXth "and Xth" centuries, enriched Greek astronomy with new discoveries, and with an unbroken series of observations, carried on for nearly two centuries,—supplying rich materials for a revision and enlargement of knowledge regarding heavenly phenomena. Despite distracting political revolutions, astronomy, in later times, found ardent students—though Baghdad ceased to maintain its primacy in this sphere of activity. Of later astronomers we need only mention Nasir-uddin Tusi, who established an observatory in Maragha,[1] and Olugh Beg, the last great astronomer of the oriental Middle Ages, who founded an observatory at Samarqand.

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[1] Sédillot, Materiaux, p. 368.

[2] Fihriśt, 283, 328.

[3] Sédillot, Proleg, LIX.

[4] In such things, how necessary it is to be cautious, the following observation shows, In the treatises of the "Brethren of Purity" occurs a passage in reference to the oscillation of the Polar axis. It runs, according to Dieterici (Die Lehre von der weltseele, Leipzig, 1872) as follows : "The learned report that the oscillation of the polar axis takes place from South to North at one time and from North to South at another and yet men do not notice it because of the size of the earth." From this passage we may infer that the Arabs knew about the oscillation of the polar axis before our times. But we must always be careful to ascertain whether any proof is adduced or not for such statements ; for when proof is not forthcoming we must assume that it was simply a conjecture and not an established truth. One could even discover the foreshadowing of the Newtonian Laws of gravitation among the Arabs. Dieterici, *Die Naturanschauung der Araber.*, p. 145.

Even in the 10th century the school of Cairo stood out as a rival to the school of Baghdad. A disciple of the great Abulwafa—Ibn Yunus—whose Astronomical Tables have come down to us—fills the first place. His work shows the advances made by the Arabs in mathematical sciences—advances wholly unsuspected till very recently. He used many rules and methods which closely approach those of modern times. We find in his works application of the tangents and secants—already used by Abulwafa in complicated cases—as also certan methods of the calculus which were not thought of in Europe till the XVIII century.[2]

In other countries swayed by Arab culture, distinguished representatives of this branch of science were not wanting either. It is enough to mention here the names of some Spanish astronomers: Arzakel (Alzarkal),[3] Maslama Majariti and Averroes.

Arzakel is said to have made no less than 402 observations to fix the apogee of the sun. So also he is reported to have made other observations which enabled him to fix, with great exactitude, the real value of the precession of the equinoxes[4]

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[1] He fixed the geographical latitude of the observatory at Maragha at 37° 20.′ The place is now fixed at 37° 21′.

[2] Sédillot, *Proleg*, LXV.

[3] His determination of the geographical latitude of Toledo is exact to the minute.—39° 51′.

[4] Sédillot, *Prolég*., 1, LXXX.

(He fixed it at 49/½-50″—whereas our modern Tables give 50″.10). While Arzakel sheds lustre on Arab learning in the far west—Al-Beruni does so in the extreme East. It is not necessary to state that, with the rapid growth of astronomical studies, manufacture of instruments, needed for such studies, kept pace. They made celestial globes of copper, nay, even of silver. Beruni used a quadrant of fifteen cubits.[1] Moreover, they prepared armillar spheres, astrolabes, and other instruments.[2] The spherical astrolabes furnish the best proof of their technical skill. They prepared them both at Baghdad and at Cairo, as also in Spain. Many specimens have come down to us. Besides these instruments, they had others in use which were partly known to antiquity and partly inventions of their own. To the latter class belong the Sextant, which they used for observing the declination of the sun, and especially mirrors of polished metal.[3]

Side by side with this scientific study of the stars subsisted astrology. It is older than the former—just as superstition is older than scientific konwledge. When the second Abbasid Caliph wanted to found Baghdad he caused an astrologer to ascertain first the position of the stars with a view to begin his work at an auspicious moment. Even to-day astrologers play an important rôle in oriental courts.

Under the influence of the writings of the earlier Asiatic peoples—with which the Arabs soon became familiar—they developed a theory of the influence of the stars upon the Earth and the destiny of man. This led to the establishment of a general belief that the events of human life were all under the influence of the stars and their conjunctions.

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[1] Sédillot, *matériaux*, p. 307.

[2] The town of Harran was specially noted for the manufacture of astronomical instruments. *Fihrist*, p. 284. They had plain and hemispheric astrolabes. *Fihrist*, p. 237. Ibn Khallikan, Sub Badi astralabi.

[3] Ma'arri who had studied at Baghdad and had certainly visited the observatory there, says in his '*Lozumiyya*,' "Take the mirror and observe the stars which make even the

Thus they connected religious changes with the so-called great conjunctions of the stars, taking place every thousand years—dynastic changes every two hundred years—and changes in the *personnel* of the rulers every twenty years.[1]

Even the fate of man was fixed in advance by the aspect of the stars and the position of the planets at the moment of his birth. The cultured too were not altogether free from such ideas—though there were men who maintained that such knowledge of the future was of no advantage to man.[2] Certain prejudices—regarding lucky and unlucky days—not quite extinct yet—show how long similar ideas kept their hold in the West. The European Calendars of the eighteenth century carefully note the influences of the planets.[3]

The relation between Alchemy and Chemistry was precisely the same as the relation between astrology and astronomy. Alchemy rested on the common assumption, accepted as true in the East at the time, that sulphur and quick-silver were the elementary bases of all metals, and that, by the proper combination of the two, gold could be produced. Old is the 'auri sacra fames.' The Emperor Caligula is said to have attempted to make gold. Alchemy appears to have had its origin in Egypt, and to Egypt indeed it owes its name. The Emperor Diocletian issued an edict ordering all Egyptian books on this art to be burnt.

The Arabs took to this delusive study at the time of the

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sweetest honey taste bitter, for they undoubtedly point to death but not to resurrection." In another passage this very author says: The mirror of the astronomer, small as it is, shows him everything—be it inhabited or uninhabited. On the astronomical instruments of the Arabs, Reinaud, *Intro. à la Géog. d' Aboulfeda CXXXVI* and Sédillot, *Matériaux*, p. 304.

[1] On astrology—See Prof. Loth's dissertation in *Morgenlandische Forschungen, Festschrift zu Prof. Fleischer's Jubilaum.* Leipzig, 1875. According to Ibn Ma'shar, Hamza Iphahani gives a similar astrological calculation on the duration of the Arab rule. He puts down the 4th century as the beginning of their decline. This turns out accidentally to be correct. It seems to suggest that the calculation was made after the event.

[2] Masudi, IV, p. 5.

[3] Read, in this connection, the opening lines of Goethe's '*Dtchtung and Wahrheit.*

Omayyads, and although they failed to attain their object, through it they became familiar with the treatment of metals and minerals. Nor must we omit to ascribe to it the considerable advances that they made in technical and pharmaceutical sciences. In the Middle Ages Alchemy, through the Arabs, made its way across Spain to Europe, and with Alchemy a large number of organic and inorganic substances with their Arabic names. (Such as Alcohol, Alkali, Elixir, Alembic, etc., etc.).

The oldest Arab Alchemist is the Omayyad Prince Khalid Ibn Yazid, whose writings are lost, with the sole exception of a fragment of a didactic poem, from which it seems that the goal he aimed at was the art of making gold.[1] For the later Alchemists his directions in obscure, poetic form, were a heritage of high value. They read thus: "Take a little talc with ammonia and what one finds in the street. Then take something which resembles borax and mix these, with great care, in right proportion. If, then, you love God—you will attain mastery over all creatures." Next to Khalid Ibn Yazid comes Geber[2] (Jabir Ibn Hayyan). There is, unfortunately, very little information forthcoming about his life.

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[1] On 'Khalid' see Abdur Razzaq's '*Barmaki,*' pp. 122 et sqq. Prof. Ruska, in his "*Arabische Alchemisten,*" rejects the theory that Khalid was the first of his race to study and compose alchemical books. Beyond the fact that he may have been interested in alchemy there is nothing but fiction and fabrications. He holds the same opinion of the second great pioneer—Jafar-al-Sadiq, the sixth Imam of the Shiites—to whom many still extant treatises are ascribed.

[2] According to the *Fihrist*, a Muslim encyclopædia of the 10th century Khalid Ibn Yazid was the first to make this science popular in Islam (Khalid died in 704). His fame however, is eclipsed by that of his disciple Geber, that is, Abu Musa Jabir Ibn Hayyan, who has many claims to be considered the first to whom the title of chemist may be legitimately applied. The most important work of Jabir is the *Great Book of Properties.* He defines chemistry as that branch of natural science which investigates the properties and generation of minerals and of substances obtained from animals and plants. Hearsay and mere assertion, according to Jabir, have no authority in chemistry. "It *must be taken as an absolutely rigorous principle, says he, that any proposition which is not supported by proofs is nothing more than an assertion which may be true or may be false. It is only when a man brings proofs of his assertion that we say your proposition is true.*" Mr. Holmyard, in his '*Chemistry to the Time of Dalton*' says (p. 18): Jabir's views on the nature of metals

But, despite the darkness which encircles him, every one who desires to follow the development of Chemistry must form acquaintance with his writings, for his views commanded

represent a distinct advance upon Greek theories and upon the incomprehensible mysticism of the Alexandrian school......The practical applications of chemistry (p. 20) were not neglected. Jabir describes processes for the preparation of steel and the refinement of other metals, for dyeing cloth and leather, for making varnishes to waterproof cloth and to protect iron, for the preparation of hair dyes and so on. He gives a recipe for making an illumating ink for MSS from golden marcasite, to replace the much more expensive one made from gold itself, and he mentions the use of manganese dioxide in glass-making. He knew how to concentrate acetic acid by the distillation of vinegar, and was also acquainted with citric acid and other organic substances.

Rhazes comes about a hundred years after Jabir. His interest in chemistry was mainly pharmaceutical, but his *Book of the Secret of Secrets* gives a good idea of the practical attitude of Muslims towards chemistry. Rhazes died in 923 or 932. With Avicenna, the Aristotle of Islam, (d. 1036-7), we are still in contact with a mind of the highest order. Contemporary with, or slightly later than, Avicenna was the author of a remarkable book, entitled *Rutbatu'l-Hakim* or 'the Sage's Step' which is said to have been composed in 1047-50. For long this book was ascribed to Maslama al-Majriti, the most brilliant of a brilliant group of Spanish Arabs who flourished under Al-Hakam II (961-76). But this can no longer be maintained. The writer, whoever he was, was no armchair chemist, but a man who knew the discipline of laboratory work (pp. 23-24), The closing year of the 10th century witnessed the appearance of a remarkable book on pharmacology by the Persian Abu Mansur Muwaffak. It is based upon a comprehensive study of Greek, Indian, Arabian and Persian medicine, and although its outlook is primarily that of a physician, it contains much of interest to the chemist, p. 27. For the next two hundred years Islamic chemistry was quiescent and mysticism reasserted itself. Towards the middle of the 13th century one *Abul Qasim Mohamed Ibn Ahmad Al-Iraqi* wrote an interesting book on chemistry, fancifully entitled "*Knowledge acquired concerning the cultivation of Gold*"......The intrinsic interest of al-Iraqi's chemistry lies in the clarity of his thought and the logical precision of his arguments, supported at every turn by appeal to experimental facts; many of which he had himself observed in the laboratory, p. 28. The last Muslim Chemist of importance is the versatile *Aidamir al-Jildaki*, who died in Cairo in the year 1361. There is no trace of European influence in any of Al-Jildaki's writings; although he was familiar with the Spanish Arabs; Al-Majriti and Ibn Arfa' Ra's. This point is of importance since there are facts and ideas in Al-Jildaki which are not to be found in earlier Muslim chemists and the question arises whether they were importations or indigenous growths, p. 29.

"Out of the inchoate body of mystical doctrine", says Mr. Holmyard, "which represented chemistry in the Alexandrian school the Muslims had extracted a definite scientific system in which experimental fact and theoritical speculation were for the first time brought into their true relation......The practical applications of chemistry were acknowledged to be an important factor of the whole, so that Europe was able to start its chemical studies with a firm basis of fact, a coherent body of doctrine, and a realization of the value of chemistry to every day life, ready to hand. *For this privilege of our ancestors let us haste to pay our homage to the followers of the Prophet.*"

universal homage throughout the Middle Ages. His writings, moreover, contain a fullness of chemical knowledge unattained before him. He was familiar with the methods of smelting and dissolution, as also with the process of converting fluids into hard substances. Nor was he unacquainted with filtering, distilling, sublimating. He accurately describes cupellation. He knows vitriol, alum, saltpetre, salammonia, Alkali made of tartar and wood-ashes, soda etc., etc. In his writings we first find a knowledge of mineral acids—probably impure sulphuric acid—certainly of nitric acid and of aqua regia.[1]

In his work: *Summa collectionis complementi secretorum naturae, or summa perfectionis magisterii*; he speaks to his pupils in the admonishing tone of a much experienced master: "Impress on thy mind all the details of thy operations, and try to account for the phenomena under observations. It is as impossible to convert one metal into another as it is to transform horned cattle into goats, for, if nature needs a thousand years to form metals, how can we venture to achieve this feat?—we who rarely live beyond a hundred years!"[2]

It is apparent from the writings of Geber that they proceeded on the assumption that metals are made up of two or three elements—only the proportion varies in the different kinds of metal. He who can isolate the constituent elements and knows how to mix them again at the right temperature can produce the different metals at will. This seems to be the fundamental idea of alchemy. However, erroneous this may be—it afforded an impetus to researches of far-reaching consequence. To the two fundamental constituents of metals—sulphur and mercury—Geber added arsenic as the third. It is undoubted that, in the course of alchemistic experiments, they even learnt to know the action of gases. Geber speaks mysteriously of the spirits which are combined with the metals, and which escape under the influence of fire. Only with the aid of these spirits is it possible, says he, to transform substances.

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[1] Kopp: Beitrage zur Geschichte der Chemie. Braunschweig, 1875, III, 39, 40.

[2] Hoeffer: Hist. de la chemie, Paris, 1842, I, 312.

But he states the difficulties to be very great, for sometimes the spirits escape entirely, and at others simultaneously with the substances. This study henceforth continued to be the object of zealous pursuit, and however little this branch of Arabic literature may have been examined by experts, we can maintain that the East anticipated the West in many an important discovery.

Rhazes, whom we will come to know later as a great physician, speaks of the preparation of spirits by which, apparently, the preparation of alcholic fluids is to be understood. He prepared oil of vitriol by distillation of green vitriol. I will now refer to yet one other discovery which was not made in Europe till the first-half of the sixteenth century. I mean the artificial production of ice.[1] In an old Arabic work we find the following passage: "Take a *Ritl* of the best South-Arabian Saltpetre; grind it well; then throw it in a new earthen pot with six *Ritl* of pure water; then put it in a closed oven, keep it there until $\frac{2}{3}$ of the water evaporates. Put, then, the remaining third in a well corked flask. If you now wish to prepare ice, take a new dish, filled with water, and mix with it ten *mithkal* of aqueous solution of saltpetre, and let it stand a while, and it will turn into ice."

The great merit of the Arab sciences is to have introduced an experimental tendency in the study of nature.

Less conspicuous, but in no way insignificant, are the achievements of the Arabs in medicine. Avoiding anatomy on religious grounds, they relied almost exclusively on Galenus, whose system maintained its supremacy till late in the Middle Ages. We cannot, justly or correctly, characterize the Arab medical system as naught but a purely borrowed system. It shows many features born of the peculiar life and mentality of its people. As devout empirics the Arab physicians made many notable observations—especially in pharmacy, wherein they went much further than the ancients. Early, indeed; they had a special class of apothecaries (Saidalani)—even in the armies they generally had apothecaries.[1] To the stock of tried medicines—inherited from antiquity—they added a number of fresh ones. The names of syrup (sharab) ; Julep (Golab) and many others prove that the West came to know these things only through contact with Arab civilization. In fact pharmacology was cultivated by Muslim physicians with great zeal. Early they established dispensaries, wrote medical encyclopædias, made compilations. In close connection with these stands their theory of poison and its antidote—a subject which greatly exercised their intellect.

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[1] Beckmann, *Beiträge zur gesch. d. Erfindungen*, v. 187. The passage in question is in Ibn Abi Osaiba, *Hist. of the physicians*, Fol. 54. The information is drawn from an old work, *Kitab-ul-muqqaddimah* of Nakhtawaih.

When we turn our gaze from the translations from Syriac, Greek, and Indian languages made into Arabic under the first Abbasids—especially translations of works dealing with medicine, and natural sciences (Hippocrates, Dioscorides, the Commentary of Nicolas on Aristotle, even Indian works such as Ayurveda of Susruta, the work of Charaku, etc., etc.)—the first and the most considerable writer that greets us is Rhazes.[2] He lived, as a practising physician at Baghdad, and was even, for some time, the physician-in-ordinary to the Caliph Muqtadir. To him belongs the credit of having made many an important contribution to medical science.[3] Even in surgery he shows a considerable advance upon the Greeks. Especially noteworthy is his work on small-pox—one of the most striking monuments of Arab medical science—the best and the most exhaustive work on the subject.[1] In his ten books he deals with the whole system of Arab medicine. We need only mention here that up to the XVIth century the famous IXth book was the subject of lectures in the universities of Europe.

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[1] Abul Faraj, 256.

[2] Ibn Khallikan, Vol. III, p. 311.

[3] Sprengel, III, 815,

Next to Rhazes comes the Persian Ali Ibn Abbas Majusi, who wrote a comprehensive encyclopædia, which he dedicated to the Sultan Adad-ud-Doulah. He specially mentions that many of his observations were made in the hospitals, and states the first duty of a junior physician to be the study of individual cases at the sick-bed.[2] His dietetics is a masterpiece of that age.

As a physician and surgeon Abul Kasim Zahravi (Albucasis or Abulcasis of the Middle Ages) calls for special notice.[3] He wrote a book dealing with Arab Medical Science in its entirety. The section on Surgery is the most remarkable section of this book. It shows the mastery which the Arabs had already acquired in that art.

But the great Avicenna—whose system of Medical Science enjoyed for six centuries an undisputed supremacy in Europe—casts all his predecessors into the shade.[4] His "Canon of Medicine" is a magnificent piece of work—an encyclopædia of the entire Medical Knowledge of his time and is marked, at once, by striking insight, clarity and method. He is the supreme representative of Arab Medicine—their Galenus.[5] Even to-day some faint trace of his teachings is discernible. He ascribed a special efficacy to gold and silver, and to this is very probably traceable the modern practice of coating pills with gold and silver.[6] We see from his writings that even in his time they knew how to cure grey cataract by operation, but they regarded such an operation as dangerous, and Avicenna himself speaks against it, and suggests depression instead.[1]

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[1] Haeser, *Lehrbuch d. Gesch d. medicin*, 1875, p. 572.

[2] Sprengel, II, 332, Abul Faraj, p. 326.

[3] Zahravi's work on "Surgery" is in the *Khuda Bukhsh* Library at Patna. It is a very old MS., one of the oldest in that collection. The illustrations of the surgical instruments show the familiarity of the Arabs with instruments claimed to be of recent invention.

[4] See the learned Monograph of Carra de Vaux on *Avicenna*.

[5] Haeser, p. 586. Compare on Avicenna, Meyer, *Gesch der Botanik*, Vol. III, 193.

[6] Sprengel, II, 365.

Enough has been said to indicate in general outline the scientific activity of the Arabs in this sphere of learning. We will not, now, perhaps, be disinclined to agree with a modern historian of civilization when he says: The Arab has impressed his intellectual stamp upon Europe, and not in too remote a future will Christendom concede this truth. He has left unfading traces of his finger on the sky which every one can see who reads the names of the stars on an ordinary celestial globe.[2]

To conclude our meditations on the natural sciences which were made the subjects of learned treaties by the Arabs, let us turn to Botany, Mineralogy, Zoology. None of these sciences were systematically studied or treated from a comprehensive point of view—although Arabic literature contains a number of independent works on such subjects. True, they made observations; they collected data with industry; but they never went beyond a mere empirical knowledge. They wrote on the peculiarities of plants, minerals and animals—but a sure judgment on the value of their achievements can not yet be passed, for this field has been but little cultivated by experts. In most cases the medical and pharmaceutical interests entirely predominated.

Dinaweri (d. 282 A. H; 894 A. D.) is the oldest Arab Botanist. His book on 'Plants,' judging from the extant extracts, must have been very valuable. He devoted his attention to plant geography. In Botany the writings of Dioscorides—translated early into Arabic—served as a basis. As a special achievement of the Arabs we may mention the correct observations they made on the sexual differences of certain plants, such as palm and hemp. They apparently knew of the circulation of the sap, and its period.

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[1] Haeser, p. 589.

[2] Draper, *Int. Devel. of Europe*, II chapter XVI.

They divided plants into three classes: those that grew from the stem—those that grew from the seed—and those that spontaneously sprouted up.[1]

Despite all short-comings and one-sidedness—compared to the Greeks and Romans—immense were the advances made by the Arabs in Botany. The Arabs extended the field of researches—observed nature—and collected facts with untiring patience. Like the ancients they failed, indeed, to deal with Physiological and Philosophical aspects of the plant, but even here they far outstripped the ancients in the collection of materials and the carefulness of their observations. (Meyer: Gesch. d. Botanik, III, 326).

In Zoology they accomplished nothing of note. Aristotle was their chief authority. They wrote, indeed, regarding the properties, the mode of life, and the habits of animals but it is methodless and, for the most part, unscientific. Only in the treatment of horses did they make conspicuous progress and acquire striking skill. They divided animals into three classes: the oviparous, the viviparous, and those that originated spontaneously (Journal—Asiatic 1853. February-March, p. 263).

More, indeed, was achieved in the domain of mineralogy—although very little has been made known to us by specialistic treatises. One conspicuous contribution, however, should not be passed over here. It is the researches made by Beruni—the astronomer, mathematician and naturalist already mentioned—regarding the specific gravity of minerals. His theories regarding the origin and formation of minerals are based upon the then dominating ideas of the Greeks—especially of Aristotle. Be that as it may—meritorious are his essays on the determination of specific gravity. He laid down that the specific gravity of a body can be determined by ascertaining the volume of water displaced by it; that is to say, by weighing it first in air and then in water—the difference between the two weighments being the weight of the volume of water displaced.

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[1] See Journal Asiat. 1853, Feb-March, 263. The theory of the soul of plants which Avicenna puts forth is not an original theory. It rests upon what Aristotle says in the second book at the end of chapter IV of his treatise on the 'Soul' Cf. Meyer, *Gesch. der Botanik*, III 197. Keen observations on the nature of plant is the special merit of the later Spanish Botanist Abul Abbas Nabati. He made extensive journeys for botanical purposes and lived in the XIIIth century. He visited Alexandria in 613 A. H. (1216 A. D. In this respect his countryman Ibn Baitar of Malaga even excelled him. His work on medicinal herbs is a glorious monument of industry. We find there the description of some 1400 plants most of which he personally knew. He travelled extensively, and in the description of the plants he not infrequently tells us the country where a particular plant is to be found. He studied and investigated plant-geography as sedulously as did his predecessor Abul Abbas Nabati.

Beruni determined the specific gravity of eighteen different substances: nine metals and nine precious stones. The most remarkable thing is that his results closely agree with the latest European determinations. He also gives a description of a somewhat imperfect hydrostatic balance, made for this purpose, which has been substantially improved since.

A treatise on the formation of stones and mountains, erroneously ascribed to Avicenna, translated from Arabic into Latin, gives noteworthy views. It is stated there that mountains are of two kinds: those that arise by the elevation of parts of the Earth's crust and those that come into existence by the action of water—making subterranean passages, excavating valleys and depositing the detritus in other places. We see that already the Arab thinkers come very near the theories of elevation of plutonism and neptonism.

The Arab mineralogists particularly occupied themselves with precious stones. They assumed that precious stones originated under the influence of heat, of dryness, of cold, and of moisture. Thus they thought that corundum (yaqut) originated from gold. If gold was exposed to a high temperature in dry air, the resulting mineral became ruby. If the temperature was lower, it became a colourless corundum.

In a temperature of predominating cold and dryness, stones of dark or black colour were formed. They thought copper to be the fundamental element of malachite, lapis lazuli and turquoise; iron of loadstone, amethyst and blood-stone. Silver was regarded as the fundamental element of jade and jasper; lead of jet and obsidian: while diamond was supposed to be transmuted gold.

(*To be continued*)

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE SPIRIT-LAMP

What matters it if the wick burn low,
The bright flame flickers and seems to die;
What matters the dim and fading glow,
If the oil in my lamp can never run dry?

What matters it, if in the growing dark,
The light seems to fail, to the anxious eye?
We'll light a new wick with the last dim spark,
From the oil in my lamp that never runs dry.

Why force the flame to reluctant gleam,
When the old worn wick is too tired to try?
There are many new wicks to glimmer and beam,
For my lamp, with the oil that never runs dry.

The old wick is going? Well, then let it go,
And we'll get another one by and by,
Perchance it will burn with a deathless glow,
And the oil in my lampwill never run dry!

LILY S. ANDERSON

THE VALIANT TRIBUNE

Last year the inexorable sentinel of time wrung down its sable curtain over the life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the master-mason of the noble fabric of education in Bengal; and the whole of the country was shaken to the very roots through grief and anguish. This summer the country was again in the convulsion of sorrow through the sudden and untimely demise of another patriot who worked strenuously and laid down his life for his country. Now that the enormous clouds of peril have banked up on the horizon of Indian politics and the nation is battling hard to steer through the Scylla of unmitigated dogmatism and the Charybdis of uncompromising determination, the abhorred shears of death have slit through the life of Deshabandhu, the undisputed corypheus of the Swaraj Party on the anvil of which has been shaped a substantive gospel of nationalism for India. The ashes of this accredited leader—this intrepid tribune, who has moulded and oriented the national conscience of modern India, now lie in the dull, cold marble of eternity; and the nation weeps for him the bitter tears of grief. The country needs his anxious care—his solicitous ministrations, but he is no more. God alone knows the reason why He has called him away! Mr. Das was a noble figure of stupendous intellectual orbit in the field of action. He loved his country and died for her. His was a life of consummate self-sacrifice; and for that he became the idol of the nation. He was a noble synthesis of the East and the West—the crystallised symbol of liberated thought—of manumitted reason—of emancipated intellect. He was our friend in the arid desert of hopelessness, our society in solitude and isolation, our companion when bereft of friends. The country looked up to him in the hour of trial and despair and obtained the balm of comfort and solace: it was alit with an unknown light, not the mere light of love—not the mere light of the heart's affection, but the genial, steady, unflickering light of protection and guidance which the guardian angel sheds. The whole country was in the halo which that light diffused all around. It appeared to enwrap the disorganised and submerged humanity of this land in the sacrosanctity of the higher spheres—to tincture their psychology with ineffable purity—to lift the national soul to the pinnacle of a conscious and self-reliant patriotism vibrant with the stirring pulse of life. The full tide of this nation's gratitude must perforce flow unstintedly and gushingly towards the ministering angel who watched by the cradle of India's liberty and who by his daring and his moderation, by his talismanic virtue and his golden tongue,—without violence and without a stain of blood, transformed the National Congress into a crystal shrine of liberty, and a country torn with religious feuds, race hatreds and party animosities, into a nation.

R. C. MAULIK

IN PRAISE OF LOVE

BONDAGE IN LOVE.

Freedom for man the greatest boon.
For all I freedom crave.
May all in love of freedom fair
To me their souls enslave!
They all must go where I direct
And feel in love they go;
They must proclaim the goal is known;
In truth none must it know.
The end, be-known, can judge the means
And put the leader out.
When means breed ends, unloved of all,
I drown the thought in shout.
Whatever comes I'm leader sure
My leadership's a gift, gold-pure.

FREEDOM IN LOVE.

Love, I love thee. That love am I.
May lovers love thee more!
My love belov'd—that love but fills
My heart and life to core.
All me-ward love but anguish dear—
That love a wrench for me
To tear me from the love I love—
The love that sets me free.
Ah! free of me—of what I be
To other's eye and mind—
The darksome crypt to prison me
That *me* as *I* to find,

Ah! in that love I freedom find.
May all true freedom love!
May honour blest on them descend
From Love that dwells above!
True freedom's love. Love freedom be
For all with spirit-eyes to see.

LOVE AND DUTY.

Life's torments ne'er shall know an end
If think thou Love afar;
Now pause and look within thy heart—
Sweet Love's life's polar star.
With doubt dies argument,
Kills duty doubt,
What duty can invade
Is clean thrown out.
Duty never is constraint;
Duty's love. For Heaven 'tis meant,
When Love and Duty intertwine
With changeless joy life-changes shine.

PEACE IN LOVE.

More blessed is to serve than rule,
More blessed is to give than take,
More blessed is to die than live,
If death leaves life a bright love-wake.
More blessed silence is than speech,
More blessed sooth than silence be,
More blessed is to love than have.
Love, life and Truth, thrice blessed three!
Love is a gem, made of joy,
Untruth alone can Love destroy.
Of Love the debt life ne'er repays,
Fade life away, in Truth Love stays.

LOVE'S CURSE.

If thee revile they for thy Love,
O, curse them thou outright,
That Love, perforce, fast drag their hearts
To drown in thy love-plight!
If they revile thy heart's lord, Love,
In curse thou instant be,
That all they love be hid in Love,
And naught but Love they see—
That all but Love they all unmind
And all in Love alone they find!

LOVE'S ONENESS.

Hate the body, love the soul,
Hate the part, love the whole,—
So indeed they say.
But how can aught be hated
By love, when heart is sated—
Search life, night and day.
Love knows not body or soul,
Love knows not part nor whole,
Love is love alway.
Love is great, love is small,
Love is naught, love is all;—
Sun is one with ray.
God is love, Love is God,
Sod is earth, earth is sod;
Body, soul be all forgot
One, in love, *more*, hate-fraught.

LOVE'S TRIUMPH.

I am a ship asail, my Love,
Bound for that hid haven,

No peril e'er can cross my course,
By thy fair wind be-driven.
What freight I carry, I most have care,
Jettison contraband ;
Obey all rules of sea, laid down,
Needled Love by-stand.
Trained mind and senses are the crew,
Faith, the captain bold,
Love-chart is on the heart imprest,
Love guards heat and cold—
When cold assails with dark despair,
Love warms with her heat,
When leaping passion's red flames burn
Silent falls Love-sleet.
Love ! Love ! Love !—is my love-cry
For Love I live for Love to die,
By Love my steel-bound heart is riven,
Sweet Love 's my course, sweet Love 's my heaven.

FINALE.

Love me, Love, or love me not,
I'll love Thee while I last ;
What have I to love beside ?
As me Thy praise be cast !

Mohinimohan Chatterji

VARIETY

In the City of Baghdad, in the Spring of the year, reigned a Sultan of the East, who summoned one day his ministers of State and spoke to them thus, saying:

"My days pass solitary and slow, unblessed by sound or touch of woman's voice or hand, while in the chambers of my heart my spirit hovers ever around the portrait of a slim white lady, sweet of voice and soft of manner, whose dark eyes reflect the beauty of a soul and whose pale face shows paler in the shadows of her hair. Now find me this Lady of my Dreams to be my wedded Sultana, for without her verily are the moments of existence void and dark, as a starless night."

And the ministers bowed and withdrew and the ambassadors of the Sultan went forth through the cities of the Universe searching the slave-markets of the world, till they brought to the foot of the Sultan's jewelled throne from the snows of her Cashmerian mountains the Lady of his heart's desire. And the Sultan rejoiced exceedingly and plighted her his troth, saying:

"Lo, thou art a perfume and a fragrance and a flower. In the calm beauty of thy spirit will my heart find rest, and to thee only will I cleave till the end of existence."

But in the Summer of the year, he summoned his ministers and pointing to the pale-faced Sultana, said:

"This woman freezes me, for her cold whiteness is like unto that of a statue's—and like a statue's, too, is the frozen calm of her manner. Moreover, my days pass solitary and slow, for in the chambers of my heart my spirit hovers ever around the portrait of a damsel, beauteous and gay, who seems like a young moon and sings like a nightingale. Now find me this Lady of my Dreams—or I perish, for the red gold of her hair and the grey of her eyes dim the sunlight of my days, so that without her verily are the moments of existence void and dark as a moonless sky."

And the Sultan of the East beat his breast and fell to weeping sorely so that his ministers were alarmed and his ambassadors journeyed through the cities of the Universe searching the slave-markets of the world, till they brought to the foot of their master's carven throne, from the southern shores of "Feringistan," a daughter of a light-hearted race who looked like a young moon and sang like a nightingale. And the Sultan rejoiced greatly and plighted her his troth, saying:

"Thou art a Poem and a Melody and a Song. In the trill of thy laughter and the lilting of thy voice will my heart find rest and to thee only will I cleave till the end of existence...."

But in the Autumn of the year, he summoned his ministers and pointing to the laughing Sultana, said:

"This woman wearies me. For her perpetual frivolity discloses a hollowness of nature, lighter than the tinted bubbles in my wine-cup. Therefore is she of no more worth than the froth of foam—and my days pass solitary and slow, for in the chambers of my heart my spirit hovers ever around the portrait of a regal being, whose dark eyes flash forth the fires of an unconquered race that rival the glitter of polished steel—a creature of flame that might die for love or kill for a caress. Now find me this Lady of my Dreams or I perish, for in the meshes of her hair lies my heart entangled. So that without her verily are the moments of existence void and dark as a sunless day."

And the Sultan of the East rent his garments and wept loudly and forgot the taste of food and moaned by day and wailed by night—so that his ministers were alarmed and his ambassadors hastened through the cities of the world ransacking the slave-markets of the Universe, till they brought from the pillared halls of the Moroccan Alhambra to the foot of the

Sultan's gilded throne an Andulasian Princess in whose dark eyes smouldered memories of a thousand gory bull-fights and whose rosy fingers toyed perpetually with a jewelled stiletto. And the Sultan rejoiced exceedingly and plighted her his troth saying:

"Thou art an Incense and a Temple and a Shrine. In the passionate fervour of thy nature will my spirit find rest and to thee only will I cleave till the end of existence."

But in the Winter of the year, he summoned his ministers and pointing to his Sultana whose fingers toyed idly with the gemmed hilt of a stiletto said:

"This woman annoys me. For the impetuous fury of her being is like unto a volcano in eruption. While a panther of the forest might be gentler in his mildness than this woman of the mountains in every word and deed. Moreover, my days pass solitary and slow, for in the chambers of my heart my spirit hovers ever around the sweet face of a brown-skinned maid."

* * *

In the Spring of the New Year there reigned over the City of Baghdad, a Sultana of the East with flashing dark eyes whose rosy fingers played ever with a jewelled stiletto—and who was a widow.[1]

MIRIEM KHUNDKAR

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[1] By permission of the "Sahib and Memsahib."

THE ETERNAL DANCE

1

Ah long it is,—my Krishna, Love!
Come back my darling, dear.
The voice of joy in glory's wake
Now rings in Radha's ear.
Tho' here's but shattered playhouse left,—in love
a bower fine
We'll make it, mend it now anew. O! haste beloved mine.

2

Be Thou my chosen Partner, love!
Our game is Life and Death.
Thy grove's my heart, see full a-spread,
For Thee I hold my breath.
Now at thy feet the flow'rs will bloom! Thy voice
will bring back o'er
The sounds and hues of verdant spring.
O! wherefore tarry more?

3

If Thou art angry, come, my dear,
I'll kneel anon in tears:
I'll make my dreamland's god of Thee,—
'Fore Thee I have no fears.
We'll hold commune in whisper low, while Nature
rings and smiles:
I will not cry, when by thy side, when love my care beguiles.

4

Our dance is Life and Death, my love,
We count no day or night,
Our view is end of Time and Space;
Thy gaze, my ray of light!
I'll not bemoan the sorrow'd past, when Thou wilt
shine by me:
We'll not recall that shadow's gloom in union's joyful glee.

5

I'll not recount what phantoms wild
In vision long arose,—
When I'm entwin'd again with Thee
In Gokul's thicket close.
For there,—with soul and soul in one,—while
earth hath day and night,—
How dear th' Eternal Dance,—in tune of Life's
and Death's delight!

SURES C. GHATAK

MILITARY TRAINING OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CANDIDATES[1]

I

In the third week of July, 1925, the Syndics of the Calcutta University took up for discussion the question—Is it desirable to insist on military training for every candidate passing through the doors of the University? Their decision is public property to-day and I am concerned with that just at present. I have taken up the pen to discuss that question from the view-point of the public. My right to do so is based on my own personal knowledge of Bengali life and character.

I shall begin by referring again to activities of the Calcutta University. They have examined nearly 9,000 *college* pupils and have come to the conclusion that over 50 per cent. of these young men are below par in health and development. That being the case, they are determined to give military training to their *alumni*. Here it must be noted that the Calcutta University authorities have examined only students who reside in Calcutta—where they are brought up under the best of conditions and where only those can study who command a long purse. If under these exceptional conditions, over fifty per cent. of the pupils are found to be defective, I shudder to think what the condition of muffasil pupils is!

Because college students are below par, therefore make soldiers of this decrepit lot—that seems to be the whole argument in a nutshell. And among the learned people advancing this sort of argument we find the cream of our educated community! Putting aside medical and scientific principles ignored by the Senators, I ask them—if they *are* people of Bengal? For, what do we find in Bengal?

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[1] Mr. Ray's article is based on certain misconceptions regarding the scope and purpose of the resolution of the Senate passed in July last—*Ed., C. R.*

In Bengal, the question of educating young men is decided by guardians—few youngmen having any say, far less choice, in the matter. Guardians decide what line of education their wards are to follow—not upon a study of the wards' tastes and proclivities, nor upon a study of their physical capabilities or defects, nor even upon a study of their social or domestic needs—but in a purely haphazard fashion. The wards, unthinking like their guardians, mechanically and listlessly pass from one stage to another till they come to the close of their career. I am sure the members of the Syndicate know this as much as the man in the street. They know further that, as soon as the students' academic career is finished, they cast to the four winds all the academical trappings and traditions and jump headlong into the maddening stream of life. They are by this time fathers of many children, their own parents are gone or about to go out of this world and the avenues of employment are well nigh closed! I do not by any means overdraw the picture. And I am quite sure that in the serene atmosphere of the Senate Hall my countrymen forgot all this humdrum lowly talk. Our Syndics know full well two very important facts, *viz.*,

(1) That when our pupils enter the portals of the colleges, they are grown-up people, too often the father of children, and at that period of their existence (17th to 25th year), for good or for evil, their constitution *has been* made. It is too late to mend matters: at that period of life, things can but be glossed over. And—

(2) That as soon as our students leave the college, those that have some paternal competence to fall back upon, take to an easy-going life, if not to excesses; while those who have little patrimony to fall back upon begin to grind at the mill of life, and they do not hesitate either to stoop to

anything and or to violate nature's laws of health!

I now ask them then—if such be the state of affairs, to what good will it lead to give compulsory military training to grown-up fathers of the children, who, to-morrow, will all, too willingly, cast off the galling yoke? Let it not be understood that I am on principle averse to giving this training or that I consider it futile to do so. I am too much of a humble citizen to say that. I clearly see the thin end of the wedge in this proposal—this attempt at rousing a martial spirit in our young hopefuls. But what I do decry is that our Syndics have begun at the wrong end. What the right end is I shall presently discuss. But as to the merits of the proposal itself, my humble views are these: Firstly, there is the risk of our boys not receiving proper training. Look to any sphere of education and you will see the reason why. The practical side of education is never fully developed even in specialized institutions! Teachers too often are of an indifferent character, teaching (except in theoretical subjects) never keeps abreast of modern advances elsewhere and the character and quality of education imparted even in specialized institutions are of the milk-and-water kind. Secondly, the proposal will add to the cost of an already costly education and will keep back many who could otherwise receive education. Thirdly, it will involve camp life under questionable conditions and may affect the morals of our young men. And fourthly, it may be resented by many. Despite these objections and drawbacks I lend my whole-hearted support to this proposal provided it is stripped of its compulsory character, at least in the beginning, and confined at first to Calcutta and Dacca colleges and provided further (and this is the more important condition) that physical exercises or military training are made quasi-obligatory on condition that our educational authorities seize hold of this opportunity to start things on a sound basis and at the right end and in right time,

II

I have said above that the University has begun at the wrong end. I now propose to discuss what the right end is. The educational machinery in this country is subject to University control and also to Government control. It is very unfortunate that there is no popular control. The University is nominally an Indian body—but it is more or less a department of the State. Practically then it is Government control on all sides. The control so far exercised by Government is more in respect of *policing* the department than helping education forward; and the be-all and end-all of University control is "to ram it in, to cram it in" as much knowledge as it is possible to give! Between the Scylla of Government surveillance and the Charybdis of University's over-education, the student flounders.

How has this actual state of affairs been possible in this country? Talk first of the people. They are indifferent and unthinking and in awe of "law and order." They never care a brass farthing for the real education of their children: all that they do care for is—Money for themselves and their sons. So, filthy lucre is the ideal of English education in this country. Having once made up their mind that their children must earn cash, our people at once withdraw from all matters of education. The people do not and will not care to know what their boys are doing, so long as their names are borne on an institution register; they care not to know what educational advances in other countries are taking place; even unreasonable inflictions on the students, they will take lying down, as a matter of course. If our countrymen were not so supine, so inept, so inarticulate, so indifferent—we would have seen the end of the present mode of educational work in this country long ago. If the people will not study their own wants; if they will not critically watch and examine what return for their money the schools and colleges are giving them; if they will not care to raise their little finger against the hole-and-corner method of selecting books; if they will not insist on more money being spent on real educational work than in building palatial schools and hostels and in carrying out superfluous inspectional work; well, then the people do deserve to be crushed out of existence.

Next we turn to the Government. The Government's first care is that of espionaging the student community. An army of "inspectors," a chain of "Transfer certificates," a library of "edited" books—it is through these that Government is daily tightening its grip on the educational machinery. It has no money for spreading education; but it has money enough for building miniature gaols in the shape of hostels and money enough for building palatial school buildings. The affairs of education are in the hands of an alien officer who is not necessarily in touch with the latest educational advancements elsewhere! He builds his schemes and foists them on us. We are a set of "dumb driven cattle" and swallow them with all the grace we can.

Take the University now. It was founded over half a century ago and though much water has since gone down the Hughly, it remains standing as ever. It was originally founded to create for the English Government in India an army of clerks, vakils, doctors and engineers. Though by this time there has been an excessive production of them, what of that? The clogged, creaking wheels of the ramshackle University machinery go on merrily, for ever! Is not reform in University affairs long overdue? How long again shall we remain simply turning out clerks and vakils and doctors and engineers of sort? Is it not time that we come up to modern requirements and reform the very preambles of the fossilized University?

I have gone a good deal out of my track. This I have done purposely. I aim at establishing the facts that there is no consistently progressive educational policy in this country and that our students are really nobody's care ! ! !

That is why, to come back to my point, I alleged that the University has begun at the wrong end—the one where students are about to drop off. The right end will be the other way about.

Take up the students from the moment they begin education. If this is done, then and then alone real good can be done to our students. But who will do it ? I know it to my grief, that those very people who will be most benefited, will not do it ! They will pay for the students' school-fees, their private tuition-fees, their foot-ball subscription : *bus* ! there their interest will end. But if the people will not wake up, whose concern is it to go out of his way to help the people ? That is why I repeatedly ask my countrymen to wake up and take living interest in the education of their wards. So long as the people do not wake up, it is a cry in the wilderness to speak on their behalf.

In 1916, I examined single-handed one thousand Calcutta *school* boys, on sectarian lines and my findings are precisely similar to those of the Calcutta University workers. They are to be found in Vol. XII of the Calcutta University Commissioners' Report (pp. 135 *et seq.*). I was asked to submit my suggestions in writing and I was orally examined for an hour. Below I re-iterate my suggestions—as I believe these are what should be done first, and done always,—as, by these means alone, we can hope to do good to our young hopefuls—the future citizens of Bengal :

I. As soon as a boy presents himself for admission into any school, examine him thoroughly with a view to finding out serious bodily defects. Note this on a stiff card. This card should be first written up when the student joins a school (private or Government) ; it should follow him like a shadow from school to school and from school to college and from college to his employer. Each intermediate school should keep a copy of this card. It should be revised every six months and entries in it must be made by the medical officer's own hands.

2. Students with serious eye defects should be discouraged from literary pursuits; manual education should be recommended to them. Students with rickets or weak chest or anæmia should be admitted only in open-air classes—which should be freely provided or special open-air schools may be started.

3. Students with remediable defects should be helped by their guardians as well as the state. A monthly steamer pass or a railway or tramway pass may be granted to indigent students whose health is below par or whose chest is weak.

4. Each school should contribute a rupee per capita, each guardian another rupee and the local authority one or two rupees as contribution to free tiffin fund for children. A wholesome tiffin is to be provided to each boy at school, out of this fund.

5. The school hours should be changed. For students who read in the present "Primary" or "Middle English Schools" or up to fifth class of "High English Schools"—the hours of study must be—from 6½ to 9½ A.M., divided into four periods with ten minutes' interval between periods. The students should again be called upon to return to school at 4 P.M. for drill and other physical exercises and sports, under the guidance of teachers. Guardians should be invited to these.

6. Along with academical tests at the end of each year, there must be tests of physical improvement. A combined advance in both will alone entitle a student to be promoted.

7. The University Matriculation should be so remodelled as to consist of (*a*) A School Final Test—such as will satisfy merchants and other firms' clerical requirements; and (*b*) A College Entrance Test. Those who will pursue education for its own sake will follow up the latter. The former will be for mediocre pupils.

8. In every school, some sort of manual training must be

introduced. Along with this, reading lessons must be curtailed substantially. Weekly, fortnightly, monthly and quarterly examinations should be abolished. All lessons must be in the student's vernacular, except of course English literature. Examinations should invariably seek to test if the groundwork has been sound—they should fathom the depth of grasp of principles taught, rather than measure the surface—length and breadth of the pupils' power of cramming dry details.

In other words, I will have a pupil attended to from the very day he is admitted into a school, to the end of his scholastic career. I will have him—

(1) thoroughly examined periodically and his physical defects attended to and remedied;

(2) fed with substantial tiffin daily;

(3) exercised gradually, systematically and daily;

(4) spared the mind-crushing load of book learning and the body-crushing frequency of examinations.

He should be made to feel that his body and mind are simultaneously unfolding; that he is being well looked after by his own people; that his educational progress is sound and deep though not extensive; and that his whole being is no longer attuned to the Matriculation key. To achieve this desirable state of affairs, I must call upon my countrymen, the Calcutta University and the Educational machinery of Government to work in unison and along modern lines. Let Government think of education as education and not as a means of simultaneously denationalising and spying all the young hopefuls; let the University make its syllabus less pretentious and more elastic, its examinations more catholic and broad-based and let the people take more interest in matters educational. Then and then alone will the future manhood of our nation be assured. Then will every student be a potential defender of his country!

RAMESCHANDRA RAY

ESPIONAGE IN THE HINDU SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

IV

Functions of the Spies.

In the last chapter we have dealt with the subject of the classification of the various orders of spies. We have seen that Kauṭilya gives us a list of nine different kinds of spies which are divided into two institutes of espionage, *viz.*, the *Saṁsthā* and the *Sañchāra.* Besides these, there are references in literature to many other kinds of secret agents. In this chapter, however, we shall try to give an account of the activities of these various kinds of spies. For practical purposes we shall divide the history of these activities in three sections, *viz.*, the activities of the spies (*a*) inside the court, (*b*) inside the realm, (*c*) and in foreign lands in times of war and peace.

(*a*) *Activities of the Spies inside the Court.*

In ancient Indian states, spies were employed not only against the subject but also against the officials and in a sense indirectly against the king himself. Through the spies the king could know his own fault and public criticisms of his own actions. Thus through espionage public opinion was brought to bear on the king's activities. The report of the spies was therefore not always flattering to the ruler. The *Śukranīti* warns the ruler by saying,—

"If when a king is made by the spies to hear 'People dispraise you, O king,' he gets angry through wickedness, he hides his own faults.

"Even the chaste Sītā was forsaken by Rāma owing to his dispraise among his subjects. Even a small punishment was not meted to a certain *rajaka* by one who was able to do so."[1]

In the *Uttara Rāmacharita* when Rāma charges his spy Durmukha to speak out whatever he has collected, the latter thinks as follows:—

"Oh, how can I communicate to His Majesty such inconceivable slanderous talk of the people with regard to queen Sītā, or such is the bounden duty of me, unlucky that I am."

And then says aloud,—

"The inhabitants of the city and the country (*paurajānapada*) praise Your Majesty, saying, 'The good king Rāma has made us forget the great king Daśaratha."

To this Rāma gives a significant reply,—

'This is simply flattery (*arthavāda eṣa*); say if they discover any defect in me so that it may be removed.'

'*Doṣaṁ tu me kechit kathaya yena sa pratividhīyate.*'[2]

So espionage indirectly helped the king to find out his own defects of character and administration and we have no doubt that they had often to hear *vāgvajras* like that of Durmukha without anger and take steps to rectify any mistakes they might have committed. But it can be said that this was more or less an ideal having little or no foundation in actual practice. Espionage on the officials of the court and the harem however was of a practical nature. Kauṭilya says:—

Pujitāśchārthamānābhyāṁ rājñā rājopajīvināṁ
Jānīyuḥ śauchamityetāḥ pañcha saṁsthā prakīrtitāḥ

(Honoured by the king with awards of money and titles these five institutes of espionage (*Saṁsthā*) shall ascertain the purity of character of the king's servants.)[3]

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[1] Translated by B. Sarkar, Ch. I, pp. 266-69.

[2] *Uttara Rāmacharita*, ed. by Kale, p. 40.

[3] P. 19; Trans., p. 22.

In another place after describing the spies of the *Sañchāra* section he says:

Tānrājā svaviṣaye mantripurohita-senāpati-yuvarājadauvārikāntarvaṁśikapraśāstṛsamāhartṛsannidhātṛpradeṣṭṛnāyaka pauravyāvahārikakārmāntikamantripariṣadadhyakṣadaṇḍa-durgāntapālāṭavikeṣu śraddheyadeśaveṣaśilpabhāṣābhijanāpadeśān bhaktitassāmarthyayogāchchāpasarpayet.

(Of these spies those who are of good family, loyal, reliable, well-trained in the art of putting on disguises appropriate to countries and trades, and possessed of knowledge of many languages and arts, shall be sent by the king to espy *in his own country* the movements of his *Mantri*, *Purohita*, *Yuvarāja*, *Senāpati*, *Dauvārika*, *Antarvaṃśika*, *Praśāstṛ*, *Samāhartṛ*, *Sannidhātṛ*, *Pradeṣṭṛ*, *Nāyaka*, *Pauravyāvahārika*, *Kārmāntika*, *Mantripariṣad*, *Adhyakṣas*, officers in charge of *Daṇḍa*, *Durga*, and *Aṭavi*).[1]

It is clear from the above passage that all the important officials of the kingdom were watched by the spies during this period. Kauṭilya gives an interesting description of the activities of the secret agents in this sphere. Spies who belonged to the *Tīkṣṇa* (fiery ?) group were employed to hold the royal umbrella, vase, fan and shoes, or to attend at the throne, chariot and conveyance and these agents espied the *public character* (*bāhyaṁ chāraṁ*) of those officials with whom they came into contact. The information collected by these spies were then conveyed from them by the *Satri* spies to the *Saṁsthās* or the institutes of espionage. Another set of spies were entrusted with the work of watching the *private character* (*abhyantaraṁ chāram*) of these officials. These were the *Rasadāḥ* (poisonous) spies who assumed various guises. We give below a list from the *Arthaśāstra* :—

(1) *Sūda* (sauce-maker), (2) *Ārāḷika* (cook or sweetmeat-maker), (3) *Snāpaka* (procurer of water for bathing),

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[1] P. 20; Trans., p. 23.

(4) *Saṃvāhaka* (shampooer), (5) *Āstaraka* (spreader of bed), (6) *Kalpaka* (barber), (7) *Prasādhaka* (toilet-maker), (8) *Udaka-parichāraka* (water servant), (9) *Kubja* (hunchback), (10) *Vāmana* (dwarf), (11) *Kirāta* (hunter of the aboriginal stock), (12) *Mūka* (dumb), (13) *Vadhira* (deaf), (14) *Jaḍa* (idiot), (15) *Andha* (blind), (16) *Naṭa* (actor), (17) *Nartaka* (dancer), (18) *Gāyana* (singer), (19) *Vādaka* (players on musical instruments), (20) *Vāgjīvana* (buffoons), (21) *Kuśīlava* (bard).

The above list is extremely interesting. It is clear that many of these spies served in the private establishments of the officers or gained admittance in them as bards, dancers, etc. Even now a queer-looking dwarf, hunchback, or hunter will have easy entrance into most people's houses. From the nature of their work these emissaries had ample opportunities of watching the private character of the members of a household in which they served or gained admittance. It would have been extremely difficult to conceal from the barber or toilet-maker many interesting details which otherwise would have been unknown to the outside world. Women spies were also employed to do this work and it was the duty of the *Bhikṣukī* (mendicant woman) to convey these pieces of information regarding the private character of the officials to the institutes of espionage (*saṁsthā-svarpayeyuḥ*). If the *Bhikṣukī* was stopped at the entrance of houses and was therefore unable to communicate with the *Rasada* spies then others (*mātāpitṛvyañjanāḥ śilpa-kārikāḥ kuśīlavāḥ dāsyo vā*) were directed to convey the information to its destination by means of cipher-writing, signs, or music (*gītavādyabhāṇḍagūḍhalejhyasaṁkñābhirvā*). Sound of music is still used in conveying information. When information reached the *saṁsthās* from the *Sañchāra* spies, their immediate officers by making use of *saṁjñālipi* (*i.e.*, cipher writing) set their own agents in motion. If the information received from these three different sources tallied it was held reliable, and suitable steps were no doubt taken. But if the three sources differed frequently then the spies concerned were secretly punished (*tūsṇīdaṇḍa*). To guard against possible corruption and fraud it was laid down that none of these divisions of spies should know each other.[1]

na chānyonyaṁ saṁsthāste vā vidyuḥ

Besides these spies, there were the *Parivrājikās* who used to frequent the residences of the *mahāmātras.* Honoured as they were in the royal harem, they had little difficulty in mixing with the female members of the household of these high officials of the state where they were certainly regarded as honoured guests. Thus they had ample opportunities of watching the private character of these court officials. Neither was the king's harem free from espionage. For we are told

> *Devīgṛhe līno hi bhrātā Bhadrasenaṁ jaghāna.*
> *Mātuśśayyāntargataścha putraḥ Kārūśam.*
> *Lājānmadhuneti viṣeṇa paryaṣya devī Kāśirājam.*
> *Viṣadigdhen nūpureṇa Vairantyaṁ.*
> *Mekhalāmaṇinā Sauvīraṁ, Jālūthamādarśena, veṇyāgūḍham śastraṁ kṛtvā devī Vidūrathaṁ jaghāna.*

(...hidden in the queen's chamber, his own brother slew king Bhadrasena; hiding himself under the bed of his mother, the son killed king Kārūśa; mixing fried rice with poison, as though with honey, his own queen poisoned Kāśirāja; with an anklet painted with poison his own queen killed Vairantya; with a gem of her zone bedaubed with poison his own queen killed Sauvîra; with a looking glass painted with poison, his own queen killed Jālūtha; and with a weapon hidden under her tuft of hair, his own queen slew Vidūratha.)[2]

Hence, says Kauṭilya, the king shall always be careful to avoid such lurking dangers. The king is therefore advised, to appoint eighty men and fifty women, who under the guise of fathers and mothers, aged persons and eunuchs shall not only ascertain purity and impurity in the life of the inmates of the hārem, but also so regulate the affairs as to be conducive to the happiness of the king.

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[1] P. 21.

[2] Text, p. 41; Trāns., p. 46.

In the passage quoted above, Kauṭilya refers to some princes who like crabs had the tendency to devour up their begetter.[1] So in order to save the king from these treasonable tendencies of the princes, secret agents were employed to watch the conduct of the heir apparent and the other *rājaputras.* When princes developed these tendencies, attempt was at first made through spies, their mother and other relatives to reconcile them and bring them to court; but if all attempts failed, then for the safety of the state, spies (*gūḍhapuruṣāḥ*) were sometimes directed to kill them.[2] But this was an extreme step. The policy pursued by the *Kauṭilīya* towards the princes in this respect was on the whole beneficent and not immoral. This is clear from his criticism of the views of the politicians of the *Āmbhīya* school. In the opinion of this school when the prince attained the necessary age,......any one of the *Śatri* spies might allure him towards hunting, gambling, liquor, and women, and instigate him to attack his own father and snatch the reins of government in his own hands. Another spy shall prevent him from such acts. Criticising this opinion, Kauṭilya says, "There can be no greater crime or sin than making wicked impressions on an innocent mind; just as a fresh object is stained with whatever it is brought in close association, so a prince with fresh mind is apt to regard as scientific injunctions all that he is told of." Hence Kauṭilya advocates the teaching of righteousness and of wealth and not of *adharma* and *anartha.*

Spies used to play an important part in this education of the prince. The *Arthaśāstra* gives a very interesting account of the activities of the secret agents in this direction. When under the temptation of youth, he turned his mind towards other's women (*parastrīṣu*), impure women under the guise of Âryas (*Āryavyañjana*) were directed to terrify him in lonely places; if he was fond of liquor, he was made to drink by the spies such liquor as was adulterated by narcotics; when fond of gambling he was terrified by spies under the guise of fraudulent persons (*kāpaṭikaiḥ purukaiḥ*); when fond of hunting his fear was excited by spies under the disguise of highway robbers (*pratirodhakavyañjanaiḥ*) and when he was found to be desirous of attacking his own father, he was under the pretence of compliance, gradually persuaded, most probably by secret agents, of the evil consequences of such attempts.[1]

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[1] See also p. 32 for Bhāradrāja's opinion—
Karkaṭakasadharmāṇo hi janakabhakṣ'āh rājaputrāḥ.

[2] P. 36.

Thus it is clear that by the *Kauṭilīya* school at least spies were used for beneficent purposes so far as the princes were concerned. But the activities of the spies towards seditious *mahāmātras* and other high officials of the state[2] cannot be justified on strictly moral considerations. We give below some account of the activities of the secret agents who were employed to get rid of seditious ministers.

" A spy (*satrin*) may," says Kauṭilya, " instigate the brothers of a seditious minister (*duṣya mahāmātra*) and with necessary inducements, take him to the king for an interview. The king having conferred upon him the title to possess and enjoy the property of his seditious brother, may cause him to attack his brother; and when he murders his brother with weapon or poison (*śastreṇa rasena vā*) he shall be put to death in the same spot under the plea that he is a fratricide (*bhrātṛghātaka*)."[3]

or

" A spy (*satrin*) may flatter to the vanity of a seditious *mahāmātra's* son of gentle manners and dignified conduct by telling him, 'Thou art the king's son, thou art kept here in fear of enemies.' The king may secretly honour this deluded person and tell him that 'apprehending danger from the *mahāmātra*, I have put off thy installation, though thou hast attained the age of heir apparent.' Then the spy may instigate him to murder the *mahāmātra*. The task being accomplished, he, too, may be put to death in the same spot under the plea that he is a parricide."[1]

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[1] P. 34; Trans., pp. 38-39.

[2] Pp. 237 *et seq.*

[3] Pp. 237-38;

These are only two typical examples taken bodily out of the *Arthaśāstra* and they illustrate the activities of the spies in this sphere. The policy pursued appears to be that of end justifying the means. But the following passage of Kauṭilya shows that these activities of the spies were only allowed in extreme cases when the seditious courtiers were dangerous to the safety of the kingdom and they could not be put down openly.

Rājyopaghātinastu vallabhāssaṁhatyā vā ye mukhyāḥ prakāśamaśakyāḥ pratiṣeddhuṁ duṣyāh, teṣu dharmarūchirūpāṁśudaṇḍaṃ prayuñjīṭa.

It is only in these extreme cases that the *Satrin*, *Bhikṣukī*, *Tīkṣṇa*, and other spies helped the government in putting down sedition by these activities.

Espionage on the courtiers and the high officials of the state is also referred to in the Epics and later Sanskrit Literature. In the *Mahābhāraṭa*,[2] Nārada asks Yudhiṣṭhira—

Kachchidaṣṭādaśānyeṣu svapakṣe daśa pañcha cha.
Tribhistribhiravijñātairvetsi tīrthānī chārakai.

On this verse *Nīlakaṇṭha* adds the following commentary: *pareṣāmasṭādaśasu svasya mantripurohitayuvarāj avarjaṁ pañchadaśasu cha tīrthesu chārānanyaiḥ parasparaṁ chāvijñātāṁ strīn trīn prayujya tatratyāṁ vārttāṁ sarvachāra-*

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[1] P. 238. Trans., p. 298. For other examples see the following pages. See also pp, 23, 211-14, 347, etc.

[2] *Sabhā*, V, 38.

saṁvāde tathyāṃ jānīyāt jñātvā cha svprajānāmānurañjanena paraprajānāṁ duḥkhitānām abhayadānādinā ākarṣaṇena cha svarāṣṭram vardhayedityūktam bhavati.[1]

From this verse and the commentary it is clear that spies during this period also, watched the activities of the important officials of the state (*tīrthas*). As in the *Kauṭilīya*, these secret agents also did not know each other. But there[2] is one important difference. In these verses, we are told that spies within the king's own state (*svapakṣe*) should watch over the conduct of only fifteen out of the traditional eighteen important ministers of the State and the commentary of Nîlakaṇṭha clearly lays down that the *Mantrin*, the *Purohita* and the *Yuvarāja* should not be espied by the agents of the Intelligence Department. But Chapter VIII of the *Arthaṣāstra* shows that Kauṭilya makes no such exception. It seems therefore that in the period when this verse of the *Mahābhārata* was composed, these three officials had secured additional prestige and dignity and was therefore thought to be above suspicion.

This verse also occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[3] where Rāma asks his brother Bharata how the latter was administering the kingdom of *Ayodhyā*. Manu also advocates espionage on the officials of the king, for, says he,—

> *Rājño hi rakṣādhikṛtāḥ parasvādāyinaḥ śaṭhāḥ*
> *Bhṛityā bhavanti prāyeṇa tebhyo rakṣedhimāḥ prajāḥ.*[4]

[For the servants of the king who are appointed to protect (the people), generally become knaves who seize the property of others.]

Hence the king is required to properly explore the behaviour of his officials through spies.[5] The *Śukranīti* apparently also shared this opinion and it advises the king to hear every night from his secret spies and informers the opinions, and sentiments of the officers, the departments of administration and members, relatives and the females of the inner apartments.[1]

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[1] *Mahābhārata*, Vangavāsî ed., Vol. I, p. 220.

[2] P. 21 ; see also *Agnipurāṇa*, Chap. 220, 21.

[3] II, 100, 36 ; In the *Rāmāyaṇa* the last word in the verse is *chūraṇai*.

[4] VII, 123.

[5] *Ibid*, 122.

I conclude this section by drawing attention to an important verse in the *Śukranīti.* The spies who kept watch over the important and powerful officials of the state naturally incurred their hostility and enmity. Hence the *Śukranīti* requests the king to protect the spy from the officers and the departments of administration.

Prakṛtibhyoḥdhisṛtebhyo gūḍhachāraṁ surakṣayet.

(*To be continued.*)

HEMCHANDRA RAY

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[1] I, 130-33; 335-37.

RAJA RAJENDRALALA MITRA AND ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL

The following observations of Raja Rajendralala Mitra, will be of interest to our readers when the question of elementary education is looming large in public eye.

" FROM
BABU RAJENDRALALA MITRA,

TO
A. SMITH, ESQUIRE,
Magistrate of the 24-Purgunnahs,
Alipur.

Dated, Maniktollah,
The 29th April, 1868.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your endorsement No. 145 of date the 4th March last on certain correspondence on the subject of raising a cess similar to that now paid in those districts of the North Western Provinces where the permanent settlement is in force, for the maintenance and extension of vernacular education in Bengal, and requesting my opinion on the same.

2. The correspondence covered by your endorsement include a letter from the Rev. I. Long to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in which certain suggestions are made for the extension of the benefits of vernacular education to the masses, and as those suggestions have given rise to the question of an educational cess, it is necessary to enquire how far they are likely to prove practically favourable to the end in view, before a correct conclusion can be arrived at as to the necessity or the expediency of such a tax. I take the liberty, therefore, of making a few remarks on them at the outset, though they do not form the subject of your enquiry.

3. No man who is familiar with the history of education in the country can be unaware of the arduous and unremitting labour which Mr. Long had for years devoted to promote vernacular education, and of his

benevolence and sympathy for the lower orders of the people. His suggestions on such a subject, therefore, claim the highest consideration. But after a very careful and very attentive examination of them, I regret much to find they do not seem, on the whole, to be either sound or practical.

4. No one in his senses will deny the propriety or desirability of extending education to all classes of the people, and particularly to those who are unable to help themselves; and the general principle enunciated by Mr. Long in the 3rd para of his letter has therefore my entire concurrence. I cannot believe, however, that the plan suggested by him is likely to extend the benefits of education to those classes to whom his attention is particularly directed.

5. It is well known that society in India is divided by the system of castes, and so long that system exerts its potent influence, it is hopeful to expect that the more establishment of cheaper schools will induce those orders of the people, whose caste renders manual labour the only means of their support and whom social usages have assigned the lowest occupations, to avail themselves of education. Thus, for instance, the different castes of Jelliah, Malla, Tior, Bagdi, Dome, Mehtar, etc., who earn living by very low occupations, as well as the great bulk of the aboriginal races, cannot possibly afford to send their children to school, even when free schools are available for them. Their castes do not permit them to rise in the scale of society even when educated and their occupations require a training for their children which no school can afford, and therefore they cannot be expected to appreciate schools. No doubt a compulsory system may be tried, but compulsion in their case, I am humbly of opinion, will prove a far greater evil than ignorance, for it would in a great measure unfit their children for those occupations by which they have to earn their livelihood. The jelliahs who lead an amphibious life passing a greater portion of their time in water than out of it cannot possibly find the atmosphere of a school-room the most conducive to health, if they have in after life to engage in the profession of their caste. A few of them might wish to better, by the aid of education, the condition of their children to such limited extent as is possible under the incubus of caste, but, generally speaking, they have not the necessary means and leisure for the purpose, and therefore even free schools established for them will either remain empty, or have their forms occupied by other than those for whom they will be opened. It is possible that there may be rare instances where the requirements of time and money are available, and in such cases there is

nothing to prevent their availing themselves of the Guru and other existing schools of the country.

6. Members of most of the castes above-named are agriculturists by profession, so are Pods, Kaivartas and a whole lot of others of middle and a few even of high rank in the scale of caste. They are either actual cultivators, or farmers of land which they cultivate partly by themselves and partly by paid labour. These are all known by the generic name of *chāsās* or cultivators. The great majority of these are generally very poor and their children at 7 or 8 years of age are employed in tending the cattle or in light labour in the house or the field, and they will find attendance even at free schools a source of positive loss which they cannot tolerate, particularly as the kind of education proposed for them "has not," according to even Mr. Long's own admission, any pecuniary value, and in the lottery of life "affords only blanks." "Knowledge for its own sake" must be the only incentive in such a case but like "love in a cottage," of the novelists, it cannot have many admirers in any state of society; it has few in Europe and fewer in India, among the lower orders of the people representing about two-thirds of the population, it is unknown, and it would be futile to expect that it will suffice to induce any large number of our agriculturists to send their children to school.

7. The middling and higher castes among these, however, who are generally somewhat better in their circumstances, are more mindful of the requirements of their status in society, and have the means to command hired labour in aid of their agricultural occupations, are not unaware of the advantages of education even such as they can afford, and they do send their children to school, but they cannot afford to permit regular attendance, "as the time of the boys," to quote Mr. Griffith, Inspector, 3rd circle, N. W. P. "is most precious to them, and when the mangoes are ripe, or the crops are being stocked, on no account they can be spared; nay, each family has some cattle and each family must send a child to look after them, and the more so since the pounds have been introduced in these Provinces." Under such circumstances the education imparted to the children of the agricultural class must necessarily be very imperfect and properly include not more than the barest elements of writing and cyphering.

8. In the scale of castes ironsmiths, carpenters, potters and weavers, hold a middling place, and have comparatively more leisure and means at command, and their children, therefore, can and, generally speaking, do attend schools more regularly than those of the agricultural classes; so do the

children of such agriculturists as are by caste either Brahmans or Kayasthas. The children of petty shopkeepers, who mostly belong to castes of middle rank, are also pretty regular attendants at school. In fact the thirty thousand village schools which Mr. Adam reported upon, and the many thousands more which he did not know, are attended principally by these classes of pupils. They learn a little more of writing and cyphering than those named in the preceding para, and in any scheme of Primary Education that may be designed for this country, they are the persons whose wants and opportunities are to be mainly attended to. For a long time to come education, unless at a cost which no government can afford, will not descend lower, and attempts therefore to carry it to those classes which Mr. Long has most in view, *viz.*, the lowest class of cultivators and day labourers, being generally of the lowest castes, cannot but end in failure, and a sad waste of time and money.

9. In the absence of statistics it is impossible to calculate accurately what are the relative proportions of those who are in the present circumstances of the country utterly unteachable, and those who are willing and able to receive a primary education. Taking the population of the different provinces under the Bengal Government at the generally received figure of 40 millions, the total of the juvenile population would be 66,66,666 or a little over 6½ millions. Deducting somewhat under half for females, there will be a balance of about 34 lacs of boys between 7 and 14 years of age to provide with the means of education. Of these about 82,636 are the children of men who have, according to the Income Tax Returns, an income of over Rs. 500 per annum each, calculating at the rate of a school-going boy to each rate-payer, or six individuals in a family. These, for obvious reasons, have to be taught, and about half of them do get their education in English.

10. The Income Tax returns shew an aggregate of 2,12,047 rate-payers whose incomes range from 200 to 500 Rs. per annum each. These at the aforesaid rate of six members to a family would represent 2,12,047 boys fit to be taught, and the whole of these could afford the time and a good part of the money necessary for education in English, if schools could be brought within their reach.

11. The higher and middle classes named in the preceding paras. represent in round numbers about 3 lacs of boys. Deducting them from the total of 34,00,000 there will be left over three millions or 31 lacs of boys requiring education in the vernaculars, *i.e.*, in the Bengali, Hindi, Uria, Assamese and about a score of aboriginal dialects.

Information is wanting to shew the relative proportion between the agricultural and the labouring classes of the people of Bengal. In a thoroughly agricultural country like India the number of agriculturists in a village may be taken, at an average, at one-half, the labourers including fishermen, etc., and the shopkeepers, artisans, etc., representing the other half in equal proportions. The proportions no doubt vary very greatly in different districts, but for a rough estimate of the educational requirements of the country I take this to be a safe guide. It gives:—

Boys of the labouring classes or of the lower castes	7,75,000
Boys of the agricultural classes or of lower and middling castes	15,50,000
Boys of the artisan classes or of the middling castes	7,75,000

13. It has been shewn above (para. 5) that the labouring classes, including persons of the labour castes, or the bulk of them, cannot be for a long time to come, brought under the influence of education. However desirable it may be that they should be so brought, their castes, their occupations, and their want of means, render it for the present simply impossible. At present one half of the agricultural classes are in the same predicament, and so are about one-third of the artisans of the lowest class, such as basket-makers, Domes and the like. Making the necessary deductions for these, there will remain for the teachable population of the Bengal Government

Labourers, say about one-eighth or	10,0000
Agriculturists, half of the total	7,75,000
Shopkeepers and artizans, two-thirds	5,00,000
Total of boys to read the vernaculars	13,75,000
Total of boys to read English	3,00,000
Grand total	16,75,000

or about one half of the total number of boys in the country between the ages of 7 and 14 years.

14. For the education of these, Government at present support 521 colleges (general and special) and English and Anglo-Vernacular schools, teaching 39,963 boys, at a total cost of Rs. 14,17,157 and 2,128 vernacular schools, with a total of 75,153 pupils maintained at a cost of Rs. 6,46,524. Calculating with the aid of these data it appears that for the extension of the existing system to the 16¾ lacs of boys referred

to above there should be 3,320 more English schools at a cost of Rs. 1,18,28,809 or a total of Rs. 2,08,61,895.

15. Rev. Mr. Long is unwilling to extend the education of the people in the English language and literature, and would take away from the Government grants now devoted to the purpose a portion for the support of vernacular schools. He is, however, for extending the scope of his scheme to the lowest class so as to include the whole of the male juvenile population of the country including those who are to be deprived of English education, altogether numbering upwards of 32 lacs, and a good portion of the girls say about one half of the total or 16 lacs, making a grand total of 48 lacs of pupils for general education. He desires then to add to it agricultural education, oriental colleges for University standard of education in the vernaculars, and the Indian classics, the cost of improving the vernacular literature of the country, and a separate machinery for direction and inspection. Now the average cost of vernacular education in the middle class of schools, according to the last published Report of the Director of Public Instruction, is Rs. 7 per student, and in the lower class schools to be established as 1 to 3 average per pupil would be Rs. 4. At this rate the 48 lacs of pupils would require, according to Rev. Long's scheme, Rs. 19,20,000 for their education, and a round sum of at least 8 lacs for the agricultural and other purposes which he has in view. These would give a total of just two crores or about three-fifths of the land revenue of the country. To provide this sum he suggests a grant of Rs. 2,00,000 from the State, a saving of say one-fourth of the present cost of English schools and colleges, Rs. 2,50,000, and an education cess (of 2% as proposed by the Government) on the zamindary revenue of 3,55,47,002 [1] or about 7 lacs; altogether a sum of about 12 lacs.

16. No doubt the Government may supplement the first instalment of two lacs by other and heavier grants, but I am persuaded that such grants cannot possibly come up to anything like the amount required to make up Rs. 2,00,00,000 nor is the prospect of any heavy accession of means from the public at all great. Mr. Long's policy is to make primary education compulsory; it is not likely, therefore, that the resources required for his proposed schools will be, to any material extent, aided by schooling fees for it would be absurd to suppose that those who will be compelled to send their children to

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[1] Revenue Board Report, 1866-67.

school will voluntarily pay schooling-fees. While an unpopular compulsory tax will create such a revulsion of feeling in the propertied classes as entirely to shut the door of voluntary contributions. It is not to be denied that the accession of Rs. 12,00,000 to the Education grant will proportionately increase the number of Elementary Schools in the country, but such schools will at once be taken hold of by the higher castes, and the lower castes to whom allusion is made by the term "masses," will remain perfectly "untapped" and untouched. Of course even under such circumstances the schools will do good, and therefore are desirable. But some of the means by which they are purposed to be supported are, in my humble opinion, peculiarly objectionable.

Had the country been under a native government a vernacular education graduated from an elementary to a high university standard according to the different classes of the people would be the best, but its political condition being different it is necessary that our system of education should likewise be different; at any rate it is absolutely necessary that the language of the conquerors should be extensively studied by the subject race. On it mainly depends the well-being of the State, for without it no sympathy can exist between the governors and the governed, and the best intentions of the former are apt to be misunderstood by the latter, and the administration of the government and of justice cannot but be very defective. No fellow-feeling can be created between the two classes except through the agency of a community of language; and for the importation of the modern sciences of Europe a thorough knowledge of the English language is a *sine quâ non.* In short, the intellectual, moral and religious amelioration of the people depends on the progress of English education in the country, and to check it would be to check all improvement;—to stop it, to bring on an intellectual blight most baneful on its consequences. I cannot, therefore, look upon Rev. Long's recommendation to divert even a portion of the funds now devoted to English education but with extreme disfavour. The injury it will inflict on the people cannot be compensated by even every man, woman and child in Bengal having a thorough knowledge of the *Bodhodaya,* the highest book recommended to be taught for bringing the light of knowledge to the masses. It is a mistake to suppose that education should begin from below upwards; like heat and light it radiates from the centre which in the social body is represented by the middle classes. Those classes have in every age and clime acquired the highest amount of learning, and by their example set the intellect of the lower and upper classes into motion. To deprive them of facilities for learning for the sake of the lower classes, would be to deprive them who can and will make the best use of education, for the sake of those who cannot and will not have it.

18. Perhaps Mr. Long is under an impression that the English schools are attended by the sons of zamindars and rich men who ought to pay for their requirements. As a fact, such, however, is not the case. The English schools of the country are attended principally by the children of the middle, the lower middle classes who require and are in every way deserving of State aid for their education. I earnestly hope, therefore, that the Government will not in any way check the present system of English education. What is urgently wanted is its expansion and not its contraction.

19. As regards the cess Mr. Long is not definite as to the persons from whom it is to be raised. Additional Secretary Mr. Bayley's letter, however, leaves no doubt on the subject. A cess of two per cent. from all the zamindars in the country is what is in contemplation. This, however, I am of opinion, is not practicable. The conditions of the Permanent Settlement will not permit of its being made compulsory, for no consideration however important or however urgent will justify so upright a Government as that of British India to break a solemn pledge; and there is no prospect that the zamindars will voluntarily bind themselves to pay a heavy permanent tax. The success which attended the exertion of the Revenue authorities to raise such a tax in the permanently settled Benares district, is due to very exceptional circumstances, which do not exist in Bengal. A century of peace and security of life and property and the constitutional means of defending their rights, and they will not be slow in availing themselves of them to resist to the utmost all attempts to make them enter into engagements which will increase the risk of their estates being brought to the hammer under the Revenue Laws. Influential officers may induce a few, but the moment a single individual succeeds in resisting payment, those few will repent their acts, which they will believe to be foolish and stupid, and the result will be that every one will set their face against the tax.

20. The moral obligation to provide for the education of the poor rests on the affluent or the propertied classes, whether land-holders or fund-holders, merchants or tradesmen; and there is nothing that makes the zamindar specially liable and not the talookdar, the Putnidar, the Mukarraridar and other owners of permanent tenures; and I have not heard any reason assigned to render the zamindars alone liable, except their being rich and the ease with which a tax can be realised from them. But neither of these two reasons appears to be fair. If wealth is to be the index as to the class liable to

taxation, as no doubt it is, all who are wealthy, should be taxed alike, and not the zamindars alone. It would be unfair to single out one class of rich men and leave out the others; and no amount of convenience can justify that which is unfair on the face of it.

21. Nor is it a fact that the zamindars as a body are all or mostly rich. From such statistics as I can gather the very reverse seems to me to be the case. In the province of Orissa it appears there are altogether 6,525 zamindars, out of which 6,303 pay an annual revenue of from 7 *as.* to Rs. 1,000 or an average of Rs. 172 per estate. The settlement rule of Orissa allows one-third of the revenue as the zamindar's share of profits, which will give to the owners of the 6,303 zamindars an average of Rs. 57 per annum each or Rs. 4-12 per month, which is somewhat under the pay of a syce in Calcutta. In Chittagong which is a highly sub-divided district there are 43,585 estates, yielding altogether Rs. 7,72,142 or an average of Rs. 17-11-5½*p.* each. 49,217 of these pay a revenue of under Rs. 10 a year; 3,825 under Rs. 1,000 and 533 under Rs. 5,000; leaving only 10 estates to pay above that sum. In Sylhet again there are 77,226 estates with an average revenue of only Rs. 5-8-1 per annum each. 34,548 of these pay under 1 rupee, 70,965 under Rs. 10; 77,156 under Rs. 50 and only 5,000 under Rs. 60. In 1852-53 there were altogether 2,06,576 zamindars in the 34 districts of the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal out of which 43,457 paid under 8 *as.* 22,396 between 8 *as.* and Re. 1, 70,057 between Re. 1 and 10, 31,630 between Rs. 10 and 50, and 23,435 between 50 and 250 Rs. giving a total of 1,90,975 estates, which yielded under Rs. 250 and at an average only Rs. 29-2-11 each. There were 10,839 mehols which paid between 250 and 1,000 Rs. a year, or an average of Rs. 525-8 each. These added to the preceding will make 2,01,814 holdings, with a revenue of Rs. 91,00,822. I have no data to calculate the ratio of profit to revenue. Judging from the terms of the Decennial Settlement it would seem that originally the zamindaries were settled at 0 per cent. mahkana inclusive of collection charges. But a great portion of the waste lands which were left unassessed at the time of the settlement have since been reclaimed and zamindaries have generally greatly improved. In some of the northern and eastern districts such as Rungpur, Mymensingh, etc., the profits of the zamindar have increased twentyfold but in those districts which were highly cultivated at the time of settlement and which had little waste land such as Hoogly, Burdwan, Murshidabad, etc., the increase in many cases is not twofold. An average of five times the

original ten per cent. or fifty per cent. of the revenue would be an excessive rate, but to disarm adverse criticism I shall adopt it as the basis of my calculation. At the rate in 1852-53, 2,01,841 estates out of the total of 2,06,576, would represent an average revenue of Rs. 171-1 per estate or a profit to zamindars of under Rs. 85-8-6 a year each; and the owners of these estates with scarce Rs. 7-2 a month are, I am sure, not likely to be called rich in any sense of the word. The best among them can get only Rs. 500 a year, and the Government felt their condition to be so hard as to exclude them from the operation of the Income Tax, and it is not at all to be supposed that they should be selected for the education tax in preference to Talookdars, Putnidars, merchants, Bankers and others, whose incomes are reckoned by thousands.

22. In 15 years since 1852-53 the Butwara have subdivided the original 2,06,576 holdings on the district Rolls into 2,28,681 and this proportionately reduced the profits per each zamindar. But I shall leave out of consideration for the present these causes of rapid deterioration of zamindaries in Bengal in as much as the evil is to a certain extent compensated by several states falling into the hand of one zamindar. Taking for the sake of convenience and in the absence of statistics each zemindary to present a separate zamindar, it will be seen that only 4,762 zamindars out of 2,06,576 get over Rs. 500 a year and these represent an annual revenue in round number of Rs. 2,65,000,000. Under the most favourable circumstances the Revenue officers of Government cannot influence one-fourth of these to enter into a voluntary engagement to pay two per cent. of their income for education or in default see their properties sold to the highest bidder on a given day.

23. Were it, however, otherwise, and it could be possible either by private engagements or by a compulsory law, to make all the 4,762 of our zemindars to pay the cess, still it would not be preferable to the present voluntary system which has worked so successfully in Bengal. From the last Report of the Director of Public Instruction it appears that Rs. 9,04,929 were contributed by the people of Bengal in 1866-67 out of which 4 lacs were derived from subscriptions or private endowments. Were a compulsory cess to be levied on those who paid these subscriptions they would natually reduce their private gifts, and so what would be gained in one way would be lost in another. At present there are many zamindars who devote considerably more than two per cent. of their incomes to educational charities, and several of these would for certain under the annoyance of a vexatious tax

considerably reduce their private donations which cannot but tell against the educational resources of the country. One gentleman in the neighbourhood of Calcutta with an income of about a lac devotes Rs 12,000 a year to the maintenance of schools. Under a compulsory law he would have to pay Rs. 2,000 and he, I know for certain, would not pay a pice more. It may be added that the desire on the part of the natives to contribute to the support of schools is daily on the increase, and with proper encouragement may be made to yield a much larger sum annually than at present. The educated natives, who according to Rev. Long, "would do nothing to raise the Bengal ryot to the status of a man and a brother," constitute the managing committees of nearly a thousand of the grant-in-aid schools of the country, and are the most active agents in raising subscriptions. They are willing and ready to double the amount of private contribution within two or three years if Government will meet them half way. But "the voluntary system," says Mr. Atkinson, "is being seriously checked by a deficiency in the amount of public money required for its development," and he adds that "owing to the estimates of the Department for the grant-in-aid fund and for Elementary Vernacular Education being annually reduced by large sums under the authority of the Finance Department, he is obliged to limit the operation of the schemes to such an extent *as to put a mischievous restraint upon local efforts.*"

24. Another objection to the education cess is that it will be a new and a direct tax. People in this country and perhaps everywhere grumble less against a slight increase of an old tax, than against a new one; and a direct tax is of all others the most repulsive to Indians.

25. For these reasons it would be preferable if additional taxation for the support of elementary education be absolutely necessary, to add to the amount of one of the existing taxes; [and the most promising appears to me to be the chowkidary tax. A pice for every house out of that tax would yield a sufficient sum even in small unions for an elementary school of the lower class in every village, and in large unions for a middle class or even an "Anglo-Vernacular" school. Such schools would cost the Government nothing, would be accessible to the people everywhere, and, if kept under the control of the chowkidary tax panchayats, subject of course to the inspection of the Inspectors of Schools, would be generally liked, and are sure to prove successful. The people through their headmen would take an interest in them, and the zamindar or his Gomostha would feel compelled to support them.

26. It is in contemplation, I believe, immediately to extend the

RED OLEANDERS [1]

(रक्तकरवी)

An Appreciation.[2]

A complex work of art comprehending life's varied play and its myriad aspects and symbolically presenting its deeper meaning and hinting at its deep and mysterious spiritual significance is, of course, capable of being approached from different standpoints. So a large variety of interpretations of a highly suggestive and artistic work like Rabindranath's "Red Oleanders" (रक्तकरवी) is necessarily possible. One cannot, all his eagerness to do so notwithstanding in handling such a masterpiece, pretend to even half exhaust the meaning of the drama in a single article like the present with its obvious limitations however conscientious one may attempt to make his study. Our ambition is modest. We simply propose to offer an interpretation from our view-point in the full consciousness that a dozen others are not only possible but likely to prove more illuminating and of greater worth and accuracy.

We can make the dramatic character *Nandini*, the central figure, like *Asia* in Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound," the key to the soul of this wonderful artistic embodiment of our great poet's latest utterances and offer to our readers an interpretation that may not, we hope, be altogether wide of the mark. As a justification of this critical view-point it may be stated here (without anticipating the analysis of her character at this stage) that this most important personage in the drama touches a tender chord in every heart and at once makes it vibrate in ecstasy of the noblest emotional thrill in response to her—for, verily, she is a perfect *woman* with something of an angel-light whom vital feelings of love's delight help to bud into womanhood without forfeiting the spirit's privilege of being born to startle and waylay like a passing joy made incarnate in beauty and love.

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[1] References to *Prabasi*, Aswin, 1331, B.S.

[2] An address delivered on 28th September, 1924, to the students of the Benares Hindu University in the Sanskrit Hostel, now amplified.

Even the Dry-as-Dust scholar feels the magic charm of *Nandini's* animating presence and calls her "the tuned lyre" amidst the noisy clamour of the market place which brings into his soul, imprisoned in his books, the *call of life.* Something more. He appreciates the value of the nonessential (as the world's wisdom sometimes calls it) as an organic part of the manifestation of life which seems sometimes to be full of wastage and superfluousness especially in the eye of the eminently scientific or of the practical man with his narrow and utilitarian outlook on life.

To this Professor, she is rather too good for human nature's daily food. To such a man—a scholar and hardly anything more, nay, well-nigh a bookworm pure and simple—*Nandini* is an unearthly creature above all bondage with whom he is delighted to enjoy the privilege of spending a part of his valuable time in a talk, for she forsooth, brightens all earthly toil with a ray of beauty from the firmament of leisure like the lonely evening star winking in the dusk of a mellowed sunset. The Professor would fain be reckless and waste his time upon her! Similarly Bishu, bound to be ever on his guard in the presence of the Sardar (Governor) flings all caution to the four winds *the moment* he is in her presence and even the mysterious Raja in his soulless solitary grandeur that cuts him mercilessly off from humanity is waylaid and through sudden fear lest this *la belle dame* should enchant him out of his legitimate sphere of solid lifework to the detriment of the world entrusted to his guardianship, quickly and abruptly shakes her off saying,—"Go away from *me at once,* don't *unnerve* me, while yet I have my *work* to do."[1] Yea, the Raja—*vox et nihil*—has little time to spare for *Nandini*, for to him "the simple is the most impossible." Is he not for grasping everything within his closed fist including *Nandini*—be she never so much of the very mystery of beauty? He is strength and power incarnate, wonderful strength and power, but nothing more nor less. Yet he too realises through contact with her that "everything can be kept tied and tethered but joy."[2]

The Raja realises the difference between himself and Ranjan whose magic charm is beyond him, for, however much he may augment his *power* it can never come up to youth. So whatever his power accumulates has to be carefully guarded from others and he is anxious even to keep *Nandini* in bondage and feel the pleasure of a personal possession whereas Ranjan by virtue of his generous youth has a better hold on her by means of the perfect freedom he allows her. Thus the Raja's whole life is made futile in tying a knot upon knot to hold things fast in his narrow grasp but alas! only to make him finally discover that though everything else may be thus personally appropriated *joy never can*, for joy is eternally free and can no more be bound than love.

The dialogue between *Nandini* and the Raja (pp. 15-16), takes us straight to the very heart of the drama. It is here that the utter futility of the Raja's mad pursuits stands revealed to us as also to his own consciousness. Conviction is formed (or forced on him by this happy character contrast between him and Ranjan) that in thus getting and amassing man lays waste his years while the supreme good eludes his grasp. Force, power, prestige, wealth are his, but they only serve to reduce him to a vast and huge sandy desert—hot, parched, empty, awearied, baffled, lifeless—which lays waste even many an oasis by its thirsty dry heat extending thereby its sway over fresh regions which helps merely to increase the bounds of desert sand but ever fails to make its own that life which vitalises even a frail bit of a grass blade. Ranjan's joyous youth has, however that magic in it (as contrasted with the Raja's power). This verity of verities is strangely brought home to his mind the day he beholds just once in a far off land a mountain as tired as he which from its outside could hardly impress on him that all its huge heap of rocks was inwardly aching till finally at dead of night a terrible noise like the breaking of a demon's nightmare after long-continued moaning is heard and lo! at daybreak the huge mountain is discovered to have sunk into nothingness by an earthquake-shock just as the weight of power crushes itself imperceptibly and unawares. In *Nandini* he beholds something fundamentally different. He beholds in her the rhythm of dance that vibrates in the heart of the universe issuing from the flute of the All. The dead weight of materialism is lightened by that divine rhythmic melody and even the entire planetary system with myriads of stars is dancing eternally in limitless space from sky to sky like wandering bands of minstrels. "That very dance rhythm has made you, *Nandini*," he observes, "so simple, spontaneous, sincere, lovely and beautiful." "How tiny art thou compared with me," adds he, "yet do I envy thee!" This forcibly reminds the Hindu of his deity *Siva* as Nataraja figuring so prominently in South Indian temples and in ancient Hindu art. There is just an echo of this sentiment also in Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty*.

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[1] *Cf.* the Professor.

[2] *Cf.* p. 15, Prabasi.

The poor digger boy Kishore too feels the joy of sacrifice embraced for love's sake (love's labour won) and envies Bishu who can sing songs of his own to this *Nandini*. The boy's highest ambition is to die one day for her sake: yet life is so sweet! Does he not every morning pay love's homage in the shape of an offer to her of *red oleanders* plucked with his own hands by himself alone and none other besides? Here is the boy Kishore's daily triumph—perhaps even over the more fortunate Bishu who can sing songs to her of his own making! Bishu takes *Nandini* to represent to him the idea of *divine discontent* (of Browning) which differentiates man from brute.

The antiquarian (পুরাণবাগীশ, *i.e.*, established custom and ancient history) is told by the Professor that she is (পৃথিবীর প্রাণভরা খুসীর ধানীরঙ্গের কাপড়পরা মেয়ে) "the spirit of the joy of the world that fills all life; (হাটের কোলাহলের মাঝেও হচ্ছে সুরবাঁধা তম্বুরা) "she is the tuned musical instrument in the midst of the noise of the market" of the busy world consisting of the slave-driver, the headman, the sweeper and the untouchable helper at the cremation ground.

For all that may be said *Nandini* is withal a mysterious enigma—the veritable Sphinx's riddle—almost to everyone but Ranjan and in part Bishu. They all of them—the Raja, the Professor, even Gokul the digger and Phagulal's wife Chandra—are baffled by the mystery of her character and mission: they all make a more or less futile and desperate effort to pluck the heart of this mystery, of course, each interpreting her in his or her own way but finally all are beside the mark and hopelessly confounded. Their bitter cry of angry disappointment is "do all we can we are never able to understand you." Discursive or analytic reason is thus ever woefully frustrated in the presence of a mystery which however stands clearly self-revealed to sympathetic imagination quickened by love that needs little studied effort to enter into the very soul of that mystery as in the case of Ranjan and Bishu who are not purblind. The mysterious *Voice* (Raja) is once made to observe, "Providential wisdom has kept you as the formless behind the screen of the illusion of a beautiful form and I have all along been assiduously endeavouring to pluck thee from there and hold thee in my grip but all in vain. I am resolved to closely study you inside out or (failing that) dash you to pieces and fragments.[1] Thy soft tenderness itself alone makes thee impenetrably hard just as the few delicate and frail petals enclose as a barrier the evanescent tint of your oleanders, the glowing hue of which I am so eager to strain out and put on my eyelashes as an eye-wash or collyrium." Caught up in the intricate meshes of Power—his own creation—even though he is the Raja (a mere Voice from behind this screen of power and force) he yet avers that he detects in *Nandini* "the dance rhythm of All" that lightens (the enormous weight of dead matter) the burden of the mystery of this world.

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[1] P. 13.

Now Shelley too (as distinguished from Wordsworth who in his "Tintern Abbey" makes contemplative intuitive vision born of the harmony between the quiet soul of man and Nature's soul full of repose the one key to this mystery) in his "Prometheus Unbound" speaks of this joy of life springing from Love Supreme as that which reveals the deepest meaning of the world of mystery in the passage put in the mouth of the Earth when she joins the Moon in the rapturous lyric outburst of the song of Love in Act IV of "Prometheus Unbound."

Paradoxically she is called upon by the Raja to oppose him, destroy him only by helping him while placing her palm on his. He calls her "the lurid flame that will lighten my way to utter annihilation" (প্রলয় পথের আমার দীপশিখা) and invites her company in his work of devastation. He realises that the barrier between him and his people is the bureaucracy and proposes to join hands with Phagulal (a digger) to break his own prison and set free the prisoners, or if successfully opposed by the Sardar, then to die. He follows the call of deliverance from *Nandini* and comes out freely having got scent of the *True Life.* His meshes are torn and he is emancipated. Her very touch sent a thrill of shivering joy into the tired lonely soul of the Raja behind his impenetrable screen of power and prestige, when just for a moment he dug his fingers into her dishevelled hair and sat quiet with his eyes closed as if drinking the renovating joy of life from this fountain of love and beauty. *Nandini* has advanced beforehand to her final emancipation (salvation). Her wristlet of red oleanders meant for Ranjan, now dead, lies on the dust and Bishu picks it up as her (শেষ দান) last gift.

We cry in the anguish of our heart touched to finer issues

"O frail, miraculous flower, tho' you are dead,
The deathless fragrance of your spirit cleaves
To the dear wreath whereon our tears are shed,
Of your sweet wind-blown and love-garnered leaves.

* * *

"O Love, alas! that love could not assuage
The burden of thy human heritage,
Or save thee from the swift decrees of Death."

We also behold how *Nandini* baffles the Professor even when he is very sympathetic, for, after his brief conversation with her in the opening scene he morosely retires half-frustrated proposing to betake to his books saying, "Let me take shelter behind them."

Phagulal—poorer in spirit—an ordinary labourer, a digger in the mines whose one solace is drink on off days in a life of killing drudgery, has his very soul touched by the magic personality of *Nandini* and he at once offers his heart's homage spontaneously at her feet to the chagrin of his life's partner Chandra whose feminine suspicions about *Nandini's* enchanting power are roused lest her own Phagulal should like Bishu be enraptured by Nandini's captivating touch.[1] In an atmosphere of universal suspicion he has always trusted *Nandini* and in his heart of hearts cherished for her a tender feeling unexpressed, even though just for a moment his trust is shaken to be reaffirmed by the brutally hostile attitude of Gokul who instigated by the jealous Chandra proposes a deadly assault on *Nandini* whom Phagu protects from all harm.[2] Even the rather inhuman and mean slave-driver of a Sardar (Governor) is forced to recognise that *Nandini* has somehow managed to secure for herself a safe refuge in some quiet nook where the severe and merciless laws of this cast-iron system of government in the Yaksha-Town have no jurisdiction and force so that nobody can lay hands on her. He addresses her as "fire of the God *Indra*" which irresistibly drags every one to his (or her) fate and is, in his view, the cause of Bishu's ruin—of that Bishu who before meeting her had been perfectly content to burrow like a worm but now spreads like a moth his fatal wing of death. When the Sardar joco-seriously warns his Deputy against Nandini's magic spell on his eyes[1] the latter's quick retort is "but do you realise that in your eyes too the tinge of her red oleanders has got mixed with the colour of duty to make their redness so terrible?" The Sardar's admission follows somewhat in the style of a modern psycho-analyst—"That may be the case for the mind hardly knows its own deeper secrets."

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[1] P. 19.

[2] P. 77.

But to Gokul (the confidante of Chandra) this fragile maiden is worse than a mystery: she is a veritable snare. Her pretty face, he knows, will lure to perdition, whoever will be attracted by its bewitching charms. He will never trust her: no. Does he not always scent out mischief in all her movements? The red oleander used by her on that fateful morning to adorn her hair is interpreted by his cocksure strong common sense as her rouge. He raises an alarm to warn his foolish and thoughtless fellow-workers off this "red touch" which will cause a conflagration in the Yaksha Town. It is he (and not Chandra's husband Phagu) who is successfully worked upon by the mad jealousy of Chandra to whom Nandini's beauty is a veritable eyesore, and that to such an extent as to make him go the length of proposing to hammer Nandini's pretty face flat for having, as he believes with the scheming Chandra, led poor Bishu into destruction.[2]

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[1] P. 73.

[2] P. 77.

It is interesting to note how the different *dramatis personæ* fall into groups of three distinct classes by the way they are affected by *Nandini*—there are those who became simply charmed by her magnetic presence, those to whom she is a baffling mystery attractive beyond all resistance but always rousing a sense of impending danger and to whom the impenetrable mysteriousness of her strange manners is a downright puzzle, and, finally, those whom she invariably fills with suspicion, doubt, fear, jealousy and to whom her very presence is a sort of silent protest and a condemnation of all their movements, activities and plans. Yet all the three types feel the force of her character and are drawn whether they choose or not into the magic circle of her unique personality. Somewhat similar is also the effect of the mysterious tassel of red oleanders worn by *Nandini.*

The Gossain—the very quintessence of hypocrisy—is baffled in his attempt to win her over by pretending to always seek her welfare. His request to come to his sanctuary to hear him chant for her spiritual well-being the name of the Holy is scornfully spurned in a heroic protest that shame threefold be on her if ever thus she attains peace of the soul! She would fain wait outside at the entrance of the Raja's barricaded palace, for, firm is her conviction that the *human* being concealed behind the network cannot for ever remain so bound. She finally dismisses the Gossain saying—"Go, go, go away! your trade is to delude men with mere words—with the soulless chanting of the name of the Holy One—after having plucked men's vitality away from them.[1] I shall have none of thee." Chandra's attitude of downright suspicion is largely determined by a woman's jealousy. She (a minor character in the play, but the one woman set in sharp contrast to *Nandini*) has her fears about *Nandini*, the witch as she calls her, more in consequence of the latter's pretty face, and this trait in Chandra marks off at one stroke of a nice discriminating touch of femininity her apprehensions from those of Gokul otherwise in sympathy with Chandra in their joint attitude of hostility to this witch of a girl. But in Chandra's husband Phagulal there is just a rift in the lute and he is hardly in unison with his compeers in his estimate of *Nandini* or for the matter of that of Bishu. With Shakespearian art individuals thus grouped together as almost belonging to one type or at least one class are very dramatically diversified and discriminated. We may notice here the Parthian shot of a solemn warning from Chandra to Bishu that the artful *Nandini* "with her noose of red oleanders" whom, in her view, Bishu fails to really judge, will eventually drive him to damnation!

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[1] Pp. 74-75.

Apart from the great value that must thus be attached to *Nandini* as the central figure in the drama whose relation with the other personages helps us to an interpretation of the play, is the significance of the character itself as delineated by the dramatist. *Nandini's* importance is very great in many other respects too. We next proceed to the consideration of this point.

The Essence of Nandini's Character and Her Mission in the Play.

We propose to first dispose of the unmistakable hints bearing on this question that are so artistically thrown out at appropriate moments in a highly suggestive manner by the different *dramatis personæ* concerned.

It is notable that the Professor addresses her once as "O my red oleander—" "ওগো রক্ত করবী" (the pet name given by Ranjan) and she too (once) tells him in a tense moment charged with tragic gloom that Ranjan occasionally applies that name to her as a term of endearment.[1] How significant too is the fact that she symbolically wears *that red* on her neck, on her arms—nay, in her bosom, for, "Methinks," says she, "my Ranjan's love is coloured red." Again, towards the close of the dramatic action when once more the whole atmosphere (of the play) seems to be charged with a haunting sense of coming doom, *Nandini* in a highly suggestive but brief soliloquy observes on entering the scene left artistically all to herself (after the exit of the Sardar and his Deputy)—

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[1] P. 8.

"By and by the twilight of this evening is waxing red with the flame of vermeil-coloured clouds. May that be, indeed, the colour of my union with Ranjan! It looks as if the vermilion used for a mark on my parted hair has suddenly become spread over the whole firmament!"[1] We would not dwell at this stage upon the symbolic character of these beautiful dramatic hints but pass on. The boy Kishore so sincere in his devotion to her flings all prudence to the winds in the intensity of his eagerness to offer his heart's homage to Nandini by his selfless service—his daily gift of a tassel of red oleanders.

We see how a single glance of *Nandini* awakens in Bishu the glory of light making him fasten his bewitched eyes on her.[2] Again, hers is the habit to *feel*, and to understand things, to realise them—*with her whole self* and she is perplexed by the Raja's way (which passes her comprehension, for she utterly fails to appreciate it) of trying to KNOW them. In the Raja there dwells the fear of the knowing intellect lest "feeling" should play false, should betray, lead astray, even sweep him off his feet. So he grows over-cautious and stifles the promptings in himself of that genial sense of youth which in Ranjan makes love an unerring light and joy its own security.

There is a subtler mystic hint very rich in suggestiveness in Bishu's song (the 4th piece on page 35) about the infinite

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[1] P. 74.

[2] Pp. 33-36.

Unknown that ever beckoned him since he had come into close touch with her. Even Chandra, though blinded with feminine jealousy, observes that Bishu is bewitched by *Nandini*[1] who has drawn out his songs again though they had for sometime past been quite mute just as she has drawn his heart close to hers as that of one "possessed." Yet in the plenitude of her nobility of soul *Nandini*, whose love is Ranjan's own, as of right, but who for all that does inspire deep, genuine, unselfish love in Kishore, Bishu, the Raja, and even in a way in the finite and finished clod of a Sardar, feels with sympathetic sadness that she has sent poor Bishu away empty-handed and has failed to properly recompense the gentle and tender boy Kishore. We must note in this connection the ideal of love that is so beautifully held up before us in this drama even though in the present context a reference to that topic may, if superficially judged, appear like a digression.[2]

We notice how a spiritual force,—an affinity of the soul—ever attracts Bishu, when he is addressed by the maiden as "the singer of my heart," towards *Nandini* whom he rightly calls the "*waker of his grief*," or still better, "the messenger from the inaccessible shore beyond the limited Yaksha Town" and to whom, as she avers, he is a veritable rampart of strength. To him she reveals the innermost secret of her heart in perfect confidence as to how the courageous self-effacement of Ranjan, her saviour, won her for that beloved one. Their relationship is once indicated by the image of a spiritual partnership in which Bishu on the one hand is "the hollow of the *flute*" to *Nandini* its "music" and on the other "the obverse side of Ranjan."[3]

For once on the Raja's earnest demand the twain reveal in response to his importunate queries their mutual relationship "as partners in a *spiritual adventure*." That is perhapsw hy Bishu would fain adorn his (victorious) brow with the mystic laurel of

[1] P. 19. [2] P. 67. [3] P. 87.

no-gift-as-a-reward for all his songs so dear to *Nandini* accepted nevertheless by him as his highest reward. A great modern poet-philosopher says—"I love you, what is that to you?" The well-known Nidhu Babu so famous in Bengal for his love-songs has it that true-love withers the moment it cares for the vulgar barter of giving and taking (perhaps the last word this that has to be said to silence the plaints of ill-requited love). "I love thee," he sings, "not at all in the hope that thou shalt return my love." One line of another of Nidhu's beautiful lyrical outbursts runs—"I shall ask the beloved at the first moment of our meeting whether she has stolen away my heart or in the act has only forfeited to me unawares her own!" Adds he, "the vulgar cry is that in loving and being loved the heart is snatched away stealthily but I assert that each one in the game keeps it to himself or herself as his or her own fee simple." Now Bishu's song is in a manner tuned to this key—

"He who ever longs for me through age-long days is the one that tarrieth patiently this morn by the wayside and I carry in my remembrance just one glimpse of his face I once had in the dim dusky twilight of the far-off past never to be forgotten" [পথ চাওয়ার গান, *i.e.*, the song of Longing and Waiting].[1]

Love in the boy Kishore's case seeks fruition in selfless service—the offering to *Nandini* every morning with his own hand a bunch of red-oleanders plucked from a solitary cluster of plants in a remote unknown nook. Thus does his silent dedicated heart reveal its intense loving gratefulness for the mitigation of his heavy lot as a digger boy whom his heartless employers are too eager to punish for the least neglect of his daily appointed task in the pits underground. Is not the Sardar lifeless who is so desperately bent on repressing life? Yet, by the way, he too must feel the difference between heart's homage and lip-homage symbolised by *Kunda* and *Karavi* flowers.

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[1] P. 47.

There is an exquisitely delicate romantic flavour in this tender boy's selfless yet fervent devotion to *Nandini* who in her turn evinces a sisterly (or maternal) solicitude for lightening the burden of the wretched life of a common drudge in the pits.

Even the Professor's dry-as-dust heart is awakened to pulsation by the witchery of *Nandini's* presence and he is *greedy* for a response to what he considers his passionate homage to her. She fills him with an admiration which to her is inexplicable. He is enraptured by the glamour of her personal charms—unto him her charms are a ray of piercing light which visits the Yaksha Town in a wildering way. His ostensible object in having her company is to discuss ultimate problems with her which, he admits, affords him great pleasure. When he secures the opportunity of visiting her in the midst of his daily bookworm's toil of burrowing in a huge heap of dusty grey pages (like diggers in the bowels of the earth) *his wings grow restless* for a flight beyond the narrow cramping net-work of mere scholarship within whose bounds he is ever cribbed and confined as an unmitigated scholar just as the Raja too is a king pure and simple and nothing besides.

Now, to the Raja she is the ideal behind the real. She is, however, none the less *human* and that in relation to Bishu and even Ranjan as much as to the proletariat in the Yaksha Town.

There is in this human side of her great character quite a deal of manly courage which prompts her for instance, to offer to share out of pure loving sympathy some of the inhuman brutalities inflicted on Bishu by the powers that be. For otherwise she will not be able any longer to relish her food. She is beautiful, delicate, tender. She flits before the Raja as a romantic vision beyond his comprehension. Yet she can admire and appreciate force, vigour, strength, power (if only put to right use). To the eager and impatient query of the Raja as to her estimate of him her noble answer is—

"How often have I said that I look upon you as a marvel (of power). In thy mighty hand immense power is swelling moment by moment—like the thunder cloud before the storm's bursting—and my heart leaps in joy at its sight * * * But my jocund heart dances in another measure beyond thy comprehension at the sight of my beloved Ranjan. For, *that you know is altogether different.*"

Yea, altogether different: for, she loves Ranjan "as the rudder in the water might love the sail in the sky, answering its rhythm of wind in the rhythm of waves." It is something akin to the desire of the night for the morrow—the devotion to something at once far and very near. "I love, I love," she sings, "that is the cry that ever breaks out of the heart of land and sea." It is the ecstasy of love that brightens up Nandini's face with the mystic glow of a strange light of pure joy at the expectation of Ranjan's arrival[1] and she at once appeals to the polestar of constancy and in the fulness of delight with which that morning her heart brims over she readily makes to the Professor a gift of a flower even from her tassel of oleanders reserved for her Ranjan. There is a significant difference between Kishore whose sole joy is in GIVING these flowers to her and the Professor's eagerness for GETTING some of them from her. As in Art so in the service of true Love there is a disinterested joy. In the face of prohibition and in the teeth of persecution Kishore must at all hazard bring to *Nandini* his daily gift and propose to take Bishu's place as an exchange to spare the latter the tortures inflicted by the Sardar.[2] Art and Love are set in opposition to utility—a point on which we shall shortly have something more to say. The Professor values things that satisfy our needs. Gokul enquires of *Nandini* "for what specific need has the Raja brought you here?" The Raja like the antiquarian must murder to dissect. Yaksha Town with its materialistic industrial civilization must eternally dig up the dust of the ores of gold—gold nuggets dug up from the depth of Earth's reluctant bosom where these ores lie hidden from Mammon-worshippers who fill the world with the maddening terror of the mailed fist devastating all with fire and sword for mere pelf!! *Nandini* has to remind the (Raja) *Voice* that the Earth as boon mother graciously offers her spontaneous gifts in profusion in the shape of rich harvests of corn and yet her sacred bosom is ripped open by greed to disembowel her and then from the deeper depth of impenetrable darkness there rises up a blind demon's curse filling the world with wrath, suspicion, jealous competition, and hideous terror. This curse is the mother of wars of aggrandisement.

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[1] Pp. 45-46.

[2] P. 66.

The gift of the hand is a mere legal obligation fulfilled but that of the heart is a spiritual homage reserved for true love which springs from the depth of the soul. The garland of victory is the Caesar's due but that of welcome, red with the blood pulsating in the beating heart with ever quickening vitality, is a flower of fadeless bloom and the longer it is withheld the sweeter and more precious it waxes. The giver's genuine love makes apparently poor gifts immensely rich in value.

But to return to the essence of *Nandini's* character.

Rightly is she characterized as the rhythm of music appropriate to the dance of the flute of the universe that lightens the burden of its inexplicable mystery and keeps the cosmic evolution ever dancing in freshening youthful joy in limitless space from sky to sky and makes the earth ever green with tender shoots of grass-blades till even the enigmatic *la belle dame sans merci* of a Nandini is made quite easy to understand as something absolutely simple, spontaneous, perfectly pure, and therefore eternally beautiful and full of divine grace.

In such suggestive hints the author puts before us dramatically Nandini's mission in life. She is surprised and disgusted at the wretched sight of the folly of men incessantly engaged in the futile and mad pursuit of gold—like blind men groping in the dark of a subterranean region full of dead heaps of ores accumulated in course of geological ages and her heart intensely yearns to set free THE HUMAN in the conventional and officialized Raja who spends all his days behind an impenetrable and intricate network contrived to successfully conceal from all the knowledge or sense of his humanity. This is the art-symbolism employed by Rabindranath, the modern prophet of that aesthetic culture which eventually is ethical, for he realises better than anybody else how beauty is truth and goodness. Says Bishu, the 'god-intoxicated vagabond,' "Beauty exists even in Hell but it just makes Hell a place of punishment for sinners simply through their inability to appreciate it and the fatal danger of the Mammon's world called Yaksha Town lies particularly in its power to produce a distaste and contempt for Beauty."

We may be permitted to note here that to Rabindranath the Divine self has ever to be realised as of old by the ancient Indian seers of the Upanishads in His triple manifestation of सत्यंसुन्दरंशिवम् (Truth-Beauty-Goodness) as three co-ordinate but inseparable (except as formal logical concepts) qualities of the Immanental Absolute or the Universal made concrete in this fashion for and by us, limited beings, in this changeful world of finite appearances which, this poet, does not make like the Vedantists a mere shadow-show of illusion produced by Nescience (माया) but which to Rabindranath are the only realities that we can adequately apprehend. Rabindranath is a *thinker* though never a system-builder, and as such has a substratum of the Upanishadic philosophy as the foundation of his poetic faith. Occasionally, deep mystic passages of his poetry read therefore like translations in musical Bengali of holy texts from the Upanishads.

Tolstoi too is in his own way an artist and as such different from Gandhi with whom he has more in common than with Tagore, but his art as in the case of a kindred soul Ruskin (or Morris) soon got eclipsed by his zeal as a practical reformer and a champion of many a lost and losing cause. Tagore has espoused and sometimes with the remarkable warmth of passion (as on the occasion of his renouncing his *knighthood* after the notorious Punjab wrongs) of a sensitive member of the *irritable race* many such causes (*e.g.* Bengal partition) but he is SUPREMELY AN ARTIST and nothing if not an artist and his development (in the maturity of one on the wrong side of sixty) is along that direction—the pure lyrist being now absorbed in the mystic-poet-prophet, that's all. *His message* is, therefore, the eternal message of the Aryan poet sages of the Sama Veda and he sings his *sama-gan* (songs of deliverance and emancipation) in new notes appropriate to the modern Indian life and its present-day needs and conditions. It is a kind of fresh *efflorescence* of the eternal Wisdom of the East—of the *poetic* lover of Sophia and in this sense he is a Philosopher-Poet-Prophet of to-day who weds Eastern mystic enlightenment reached by meditative introspection in inspired moments of intuitive vision to Western adoration of Beauty perceived by the senses made keen by a passionate and ardent artistic nature alive to all the grandeur and grace of the outer world. All this rich combination again is embodied in richest melodious song of which the divine rhythm makes the reader's heart dance in harmony with the music of the Poet's lyre.

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH POETRY

I must be permitted to begin with a word of explanation—rather one of apology and that by way of expression of gratefulness.

The first paper read under the auspices of the local branch of the Poetry Society of London so recently brought into existence through the very encouraging and generous response to my diffident yet warm appeal to the grand old man. of the Incorporated Law Society, Mr. Chatterjee, to whom we all of us owe so much, should, to my mind, have been entrusted to a worthier person. My difficulty is that I cannot even make an excuse with a good grace happening, as I unfortunately do, to be a teacher of poetry for years together and an older member of the Poetry Society of London with which my connection began only two years after its inauguration.

I have been obliged to write this brief paper on a big subject at what to a busy man is a short notice and my humble performance is necessarily tentative and hasty but I am encouraged by the thought that your kind indulgence will make up for my deficiency. I use no language of conventional courtesy in adding that I feel very grateful to all my colleagues here for this opportunity of discussing poetry and that at a place not perhaps in its daily atmosphere particularly favourable to the cultivation of the fine arts though I very gladly bear in mind that I see around me here persons who are more devoted lovers of the Muses than a professional teacher of poetry like myself.[1]

The subject of my short paper is "Contemporary English Poetry" and I need not point out that mine is merely a rapid bird's-eye-view of the wide field covered by these three simple words.

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[1] This paper was read at the 1st meeting of the Local Branch of the Poetry Society of London, on the 9th September (1925).

Here I am confronted with a preliminary difficulty which I beg leave to face in a somewhat cavalier-like spirit in the manner of the great critic Professor Saintsbury who says, "Now the horse-leeches of definition will ask me to define Romanticism and now, also, I shall do nothing of the sort." Yes, I will not attempt to define what contemporary poetry is beyond suggesting that chronologically it may be supposed to include the period from the nineties of the last century when Tennyson's voice became silenced (1892) up to the current year. As a new literary movement its first stage of vague experimental searching after a well-defined dominant note from among a mass of tendencies came to an end by 1908-09, the year of the publication of the collected Works in 8 vols. of the leader of the Celtic Literary Movement in Ireland (Mr. William Butler Yeats), when the organ of the Poetry Society of London then recently established, *viz.*, the Poetry Review, was first edited by Harold Monro with a view to bring to a focus the scattered individual efforts of a large group of new writers of verse in England. Harold Monro's ideas of poetry soon brought him into conflict with the elders of the previous generation yet in possession of the field of poetry and he wa ssoon replaced by Stephen Phillips (1864-1915). This event roughly coincides with the publication by the Poetry Book-shop (London) of the well-known series of anthology of modern English verse known as Georgian Poetry commencing with the year 1911, which, by the way, was largely due to the extraordinary organising ability of Mr. Monro. Thus by 1910 it was clear that something was taking shape to which with some amount of justice the name of the modern school of English poetry could be given because the avowed aim of this new poetry is not only to deal with themes directly connected with current conditions of life and thus reflect in it the spirit of the age but also to represent as far as possible the characteristic PROBLEMS of modern life and artistically suggest a way out of the perplexing doubts and difficulties that confront us today in individual, communal or international life.

Geographically "Contemporary English Poetry" extends its bounds beyond the British Isles and covers in its vast range North America and particularly Canada, Japan, Australia, India and South Africa and includes among others such names as those of G. Santayana, Ezra Pound, John Payne, Archibald McLeish, Miss Amy Lowell, Miss Harriet Monroe, Mrs. Henderson, Mr. Charles Hanson Towne, Yone Noguchi, Tagore and Sarojini Naidu—I name a few out of a large number of poets of today. The new elements of life that dominantly enter as theme into this poetry are chiefly—

(*a*) Modern town life, city street life, factory life, the economic struggles brought in by present-day industrialism and its offshoot that goes by the comprehensive name of socialism and machinery as a power *versus* man power.

(*b*) Slum population, working man and woman, the proletariat, ragged children, submerged many (as opp. to, for instance, Wordsworth's Dalesmen, Scott's Borderers, Burns's Peasantry, Chatterton's Cornish people, Hardy's Wessex men and women, Tennyson's Lincolnshire people or Shelley's abstract humanity).

(*c*) Woman problem, feminine emancipation, woman suffrage, sex-duel, sex-disabilities and so on.

(*d*) Nature and animal life viewed from the modern man's new angle of vision as illustrated, for example, by Ralph Hodgson's "Stupidity Street." Theodore Maynard's "Sunset on the Desert" may be selected as an illustration of the new Nature poetry which, however, is more elaborately done in such poems as—

Sturge Moor's "The Panther,"
Alice Meynell's "In Early Spring,"
Francis Thompson's "Daisy,"
John Masefield's "The West Wind" so significantly different from Shelley's Poem.

(*e*) Problems created by commercial competition, spheres of influence in international relations, the imperialistic politics, exploitation of the weak by the more scientifically advanced races or States better organised, the self-determination of small nationalities and the like.

(*f*) The terrible tug of war for dominance between materialism, agnosticism and the life spiritual.

(*g*) The new psychology, psychical experiments and researches, the subliminal self, the unconscious occultism and mysticism old and new, Eastern and Western, and spiritualism.

Closely connected with these elements is the important question of the poet's outlook on life and his view of the universe in relation to man which give a clear indication of the links and affinities of the contemporary literary movement (so far as it is represented by poetry) with the immediate past—with such great upheavals as the French Revolution, German Transcendental philosophy, the Oxford movement, Catholic Revival, Darwinism or Mendellianism, Celtic Revival, the Indian Renaissance, Pan-Asiatic movement, Pan-Islam, Pan-psychism, the Whiteman's burden theory. The Great War (of 1914-19) with its special patriotic niche claims its large and somewhat legitimate share in the poetry of to-day and ours is pre-eminently an age, we must admit, of international and inter-racial *rapprochement* with its half-successful institutions and agencies such as Parliament of Religions, Universal Races Congress, The League of Nations and a whole host of conferences embracing in their wide range and sweep almost all questions affecting the welfare of man in all his enormous phases of life and spheres of activity.

We are thus confronted even in our very brief and rapid survey of contemporary poetry with an appalling task because of the vast material available and the abundance of interests involved by virtue of the tremendous fulness that life is daily aiming at attaining with a disconcerting freedom that at first sight unnerves the heart of the man of robust optimism by the huge amount of wastage such a furious struggle for self-realisation must necessarily entail.

But the vital question affecting the trend of this new poetry is the question of the mode of treatment adopted by the majority of the young poets of this new era of new politico-social problems. Now the poetical *mode* of any particular period or age is largely determined by the poet's attitude towards life, or if we choose, towards his theme. Men, even artists not excepted, are today hurrying or rather being hurried through life at a very high pressure. We refuse to stand and wait, to pause and ponder, to reflect, to possess our soul, to give ourselves up to contemplation or meditation. We must run or, as we think, the race is not for us. A speech like Burke's on Hastings or even a piece of oration like Gladstone's on Irish Home Rule in the Mother of Parliaments is today totally out of the question. In our High Courts or Municipal Corporations we summarily silence a *talker*, because we are eminently practical today and always are for business. The Wordsworthian "wise passivity" is indeed a thing of the past. Ours is an age of short stories, One-Act plays, Music-hall performances in place of elaborate symphonies and oratorios, snap-shot pictorial sketches, street lorries replacing slow-moving creaking carts, wire-less messages, "phoning up" people for rapid communication, quick-firing machine guns. So our poetry must forsooth be short to be sweet and business-like to be acceptable to the busy man or woman pushing his or her way through life at a breakneck speed!!

This at once brings us to the very centre of our thesis—to the most important question of the aesthetic principle on which the poetic art of the 20th century must be based.

Hence it has become a commonplace of criticism to hold that realism or its kin naturalism has succeeded during the last half a century in completely ousting from the field of artistic creation and art appreciation the older principles of romanticism and idealism and the symbolic way of treatment which these principles pre-eminently preferred.

We plunge at once into the main current of an important controversy in art criticism by concentrating our attention on what constitutes the very soul of the poetry of to-day. I shall presently address myself to this difficult task, of course, proposing to tackle it in a manner suitable to the limits of space and time available for a short paper like this.

Before doing so I must beg leave to illustrate as briefly as I can something of the nature of an out-and-out realist's poetic method. The best reference that a critic can make in this connection is to the notorious anthology of American realistic poetry known as "Spoon River Anthology" where realism appears with a vengeance and we are invited in all seriousness to relish the poetry of the crowded tramcar, the whistling street steamroller which hitherto we had been rather warned off, the road hog rattling off at 20 miles per hour, the trolly car, the wheel-barrow and what not—all dealt with in the vigorous slang of the irrepressible Yankee shorn of all nuances of diction, melody, rhythmic charm and poetic association or artistic suggestiveness. Everything is definitely told and nothing is left to the reader's imagination. It is all *statement.* Now the function of prose is to state. Poetry like other fine arts suggests even when describing a thing. But our American brethren, disconcertingly and mercilessly new in everything will not have it so. Ergo, the world must appreciate the "Spoon River" brand of new poetry exactly as it must extol the new woman with her top-boots, tight breeches, shingled hair, openbreast jacket jockeying the professional jockey out of the race.course or riding astride in a man's saddle her spirited pony in the polo-ground and motor-biking to her pistol-shooting club with a huge manilla cigar perfuming the air with its dense smoke !

But I must not open myself to the facile charge of being insensible to the merit possessed even by a collection of poems like the Spoon River Anthology with its remarkable individual note amounting to originality showing from the new angle of vision of a host of men and women of to-day in close touch with the facts of life as they are what the world appears to them to be in reality divested of the imported charm of dreamy idealism or alluring romanticism.

Coming nearer home we find Rose Macaulay in a series of poems "On the Land" (1916) gives us with sickening prosaic details an elaborate description of the manner of "Spreading Manure." In right businesswise I shall only add in our moden newspaper style—"Comment is needless here." Lest I be too harsh upon this new poetry of realism, shall I quote for your edification a delectable bit from her "The Pond?" Here it is:—

"Weed-bound, green as grass, the pond lies,
With a crazy, hole-riddled tin
Battered and broken, riding ship-wise
On the water's warm green skin
That bears, like a floor, the weight of June."

Enough, we say. I must respectfully apologise to the poetess for my incorrigible old-world ideas about poetry that decidedly stand in the way of a proper appreciation of this kind of poetry.

Our time is limited but I may appear to have purposely pounced upon an unpromising bit to prove my case. So here is another bit from another realist, Edmund Blunden's "The Barn":—

"The smell of apples stored in hay
And homely cattle-cake is there."

The poetry, gentlemen, of delicious cattle-cake served up for your delectation with all the zest of realism for such delicacies!! I hope you are satisfied now and I may pass on. If you are not, here is the last word so far as my short paper is concerned—I give you finally only 4 lines from A. Y. Campbell's "There are Still Kingfishers":—

"Not as before, startled by friendly prod
In stagnant ditch to imagine something quiver.
Lost while half-seen; but brilliant, clear, and broad
Forty-two yards up the middle of the river."

and so on and so on!!!

Let not the poetry of today turn you queasy and sick. Let us note how realism shades off into something pretty, if not beautiful, in John Masefield's "Dawn." We read

"The dawn comes cold; the haystack smokes
The green twigs crackle in the fire
The dew is dripping from the oaks
And sleepy men bear milking-yokes
Slowly towards the cattle-byre."

Here too observation but that with the eye of a poet is far too much in evidence. The poet as a REALIST-ARTIST (and not a realist journeyman) leaves his bare, unadorned, simple, clear delineation to produce its effect on the reader's imagination. This is art and not artifice. Masefield will give us something better still in his "June Twilight."

"The twilight comes the sun
Dips down and sets
The boys have done
Play at the nets.

In a warm golden glow
The woods are steeped.
The shadows grow;
The bat has cheeped.

* * *

Dusky it grows. The moon!
The dews descend,
Love, can this beauty in our hearts end?"

Ah! we cry in joy this is poetry indeed, though here the Muse chooses in part to be realistic without disdaining to shed on details the gleam which is neither on land nor sea. Yes, poetry is coming to its own despite realism. Have I your permission, Sirs, to carry you a step further. Here is Masefield's "Midsummer Night" with

"The perfect disc of the sacred moon
Through still blue heaven serenely swims,
And the lone bird's liquid music brims
The peace of the night with a perfect tune."

We gratefully endorse. How poetically the *suggestive* epithets are here distributed and how rhythmically the subdued sweetness of the melodious lines moves in unison with the restfulness of the hush of midnight!

Eureka! we cry in insuppressible delight of the heart that is greatly touched in its deeper chord by the music of true poesy. The wintry breath of prosaic realism is blown away and if winter is gone can spring be far behind?

Let Masefield's "A Twilight" furnish the reply, for, I do not like to stand between you and your poet with a critic's vulgar sermonising on the Muse's work.

If time could serve, I would have very gladly taken you through the nature poems of W. H. Davies (1916) such as "The Rain," "Robin Red-breast," "To a Butterfly," "The Wind" with its Wordsworthian homeliness, "Jenny" recalling Burns, "Early Morn," "The Moth" suggestive of Blake, "Nature's Moods," "A Summer's Noon," "The Daisy" as also other pieces like "Childhood's Hours" echoing Hood's sentiment, the Tennysonian "The Sea" with its avoidance of the commonplace, Wordsworthian poems like "Waiting" or "Two Lives" or the Keatsian "A Life's Love" and even that fine "Beauty's Danger" that wonderfully recaptures the non-chalance of the 17th century court poets of England. But I must resolutely place myself this afternoon under a trying self-denying ordinance lest I trespass too far on your indulgence.

Now to turn rather abruptly to the controversy over aesthetic principles.

Romanticism, Idealism, Mysticism, Symbolism, Naturalism, Impressionism, Realism and latterly Modernism (or modernity) have for the last half century been waging a fierce war for supremacy in the field of art. I have no time to-day to attempt to describe their traits and I omit one "combatant" in particular for his weird name lest I should appear to be pedantic—I mean *Futurism* which, it is reported, actually threatened in Italy and France at any rate to extend its bounds beyond its legitimate sphere into the precincts of the realm of poetry. But that, after all, is a matter of an adventurous invader's extra-territorial jurisdiction not sanctioned by the mandatory powers.

My apology for at all referring to this warfare is that no age or school of poetry worth the name can be properly valued and estimated in its true worth without the application to it of a well-defined standard of value. It is necessary, therefore, that even in pronouncing tentatively my verdict on the poetical output of the last 30 or even 15 years or so I must arrive at a workable body of critical canons. Now the "isms" I have been obliged to refer to are pre-eminently questions relating to the poetic temper and also to the individual poet's temperament. Now, again, *this* temperament is sharply divided from the scientific and the philosophic, these three having been generally accepted as the three distinct temperamental attitudes towards the universe of ego and non-ego (of man and nature) as critics hold. One simple discriminating principle relating to these is that the poet's is the beauty-way of comprehending the universe as contrasted with the philosopher's truth-way and the scientist's utility-way. Beauty is intimately connected with art and poetry is an art. Now, art, as Zola finely puts it, is life reflected through a temperament. Poetry as art is an expression and interpretation of life and not always a criticism of life made through the poetic temperament with its beauty-way of apprehending man and nature. Better still, the poet's is the outlook on life determined by an endless series of ever-shifting varying myriad moods indicating the significant trait of each poet's temperamental tendency. A very brief critical consideration, therefore, of the art-principle involved in the controversy referred to may go a long way in helping us in the decision as to the place assignable to the poetic efforts of today in their endeavour to reveal and interpret life's deeper meaning and the world's significance. This poetic temperament, for instance, is indisputably evidenced by the dream-laden mood of the Shelley of Alastor and the Witch of Atlas, the mysticism of the Blake of the Prophetic Books and the W. B. Yeats of the Wanderings of Usheen, ecstatic meditative introspection of the Wordsworth of Tintern Abbey or the Intimations Ode, and by the sensuous unrestrained rank greenth of the Keats of Endymion or the pagan aesthetic self-sufficiency of his immortal Grecian Ode.

As is the case with all *epochs* of poetry the new poetry of today started as a reaction against the order established by the Victorians. It began as a revolt against the crude scientific self-complacence and arrogant sufficiency of the 3rd quarter of the 19th century with its blind alley of blank agnosticism, sheer negation of spiritual vision, dry rationalism, searching doubt in the midst of life's fret and fury (of M. Arnold and Clough), abstract individualism, blatant nationalism, narrow jingoistic patriotism, chauvinism, religious barrenness, theological logomachy, dry intellectualism of the higher criticism of the Scriptures bidding fair to rationalise the Bible story and the very life of Christ and the Christ-ideal off the face of Christendom, and the intolerable narrowness of purse-proud successful industrial magnates and multi-millionaires.

The groaning world with its deep cry uttered in Carlyle's "Eternal Nay" was tired to death with its futile groping after kindly light to lead a really pious and enquiring soul, say like that of Newman, nay, the very spirit of science-*cum*-materialism-oppressed Western humanity as a whole, out of the cramping *cul-de-sac* of mere dogma, theological or scientific. For, verily, science has her superstitions too—the superstition of depending exclusively on the evidence of the senses, the superstition of clinging desperately to observation and experiment as the only way to truth and reality, the superstition of cocksureness that the only world worth our serious concern is the world of demonstrable truth, of truth that can be fingered, dissected, tabulated and statistically proved. This utility-way of comprehending the world and exhausting its meaning cannot satisfy man's deeper self. That self seeks realisation, its own recognition and identification. Out of such a searching of the spirit is born a spiritual urge in man which functions by lifting the imagination through which the Universe is once more viewed up to the empyrean Pisgah height of limitless vision stretching far beyond the narrow ken of the discursive or analytic reason of man and fills his soul with creative ecstasy which seeks fruition in the joy of making. And the poet is both a seer and a maker. He sees anew and re-makes the world—sees it with Adam's vision, fresh and young, not yet at all satiated and cloyed—and creates out of mortal realities things more real than so-called realities which are the nurslings of immortality. Realism as a sure foundation fails as a principle of art in as much as it aims merely at faithful representation of the externally existing for the time being as distinguished from that deeper abiding reality that ever is. The soul of man cannot find rest in what passeth away, what belongs to a single period of human evolution or cosmic evolution. Mutability troubles his spirit as we find in Shelley. The photographic vividness and faithful reproduction of what the senses alone can take, down to drab life of daily routine with its drudgery and street squabble by way of revolt against Victorian over-sentimentalism refined by the sensuousness of a Rossetti or passionate sensualism of a Swinburne could at best build a halfway house on the road to the emancipation of man's emotional self from the bondage of scientific generalisation. The realist in his haste even pulled love down from its Shelleyan pedestal reducing it to mere natural though keen sex-functioning on the part of man and woman considered in the naturalistic way as biologically higher animals.

With the youthful R. Brooke love is an agitative fever of the warm blood of youth that, to quote his language, "dies out from kiss to kiss" and not as with Shelley "the devotion to something afar from the sphere of our sorrow," that divine spirit which scatters 'the liquid joy of life' and "makes the reptile equal with God." Similarly another youthful bard D. H. Lawrence makes love an untamed febrile emotionalism—either something biological, needful for race propagation and continuity, or at best, physiological, but never spiritualised by the poetic art of etherealising the sensuous. Now true poetry interpenetrates sense perceptions with that superior form of consciousness which refuses to be cribbed, cabined and confined in the realm of the senses. Realists fail to realise that even the most refined kind of excitement of the delicately sensitive nerves of a man of very fine sensibilities must be discriminated from that divine afflatus, that fine frenzy of inspiration which emancipates us from the tyranny of the senses—from false allegiance to feverish sensation and sensuous appreciation of all that is sweet to eye or ear however keen and exquisite may be the thrills of quivering touch that sends the maddened blood intoxicated with dizzy rapture of the flesh alone coursing fiercely through the veins of man and woman lost for a moment in the aching joy of momentary sensuous bliss. This is the realist's "love" at its highest-best. Naturalism as represented by modern psycho-analysis is apt to class poets like Shelley as neurotics suffering from morbid nervous excitation or unbalance due to high-pressure of artificial life in congested cities because a Shelley is always inclined to Platonic idealism which tends to the spiritual glorification of an instinct fundamental and primary in man and woman. Psycho-analysis in its scientific craze ignores that a right culture of this emotion can transform the primary animal instinct into the divine quality of chastening self-effacement as the surest means of self-realisation through discovery of one's identity with the Ultimate Reality manifesting itself as Truth, Beauty, Love, Joy, Bliss and the Good. Here intuition must be allowed to step in to supplant and not supplement close observation or even what is called emotional perception.

All artistic creation is a divine desire that seeks satisfaction because *being* has a will to become, to manifest itself, to reveal. Man yearns for perfection and permanence in the midst of imperfection and impermanence. The concrete real called the actual falls short of this ideal of perfection. So man idealises the real to realise the infinite in the finite. Man creates—not out of empty nothing but by choice, selection, rejection of unessentials and addition to make the incomplete complete. He economises in utilising immense varieties of sense experiences which if used in their raw crude form or unregulated profusion are an encumbrance or hindrance to the embodiment in a symmetrical and beautiful form that combines unity with variety, uniformity with diversity, regularity with freedom in the process of re-creation. Art thus re-incarnates in beauty without regard for actual truth or immediate utility.

My contention finds support even from many of the realistic poets of to-day who at times throw off their allegiance to their poetic creed. In the midst of R. Brooke's poetry of sensuousness and raw youthfulness I come across a suggestion like this

> "Strain thro' the dark with desireless eyes
> To what may lie beyond it" (meaning death).

Masefield once says—

> "Then on Man's earthly peak I might behold
> The unearthy self beyond, unguessed, untold."

W. Watson in the closing stanza of his "Father of the Forest" makes the old Yew tree hold out regarding man free from all envy, all competition, all hate, the vision of Beauty as the final goal towards which toils the indomitable world. According to this poet

> "Though prose can never be too truthful or too wise
> Song is not truth, not wisdom but the rose
> Upon truth's lips, the light in wisdom's eyes."

This is Wordsworth's well-known
" Smile upon the countenance of Science.

If I may hazard a prophecy, the future standard of criticism even in the West will be the test of the poet's spiritual vision or mystic intuition, his imaginative plastic sweep that gives to airy nothing a local habitation, his suggestiveness. By this alone can he penetrate through the outer shell of the shadow-show of transient appearances into the vital presence within that which for ever abides as the central core of things—as the Reality.

Mere raw passion so "affected" by the realist is not fit for poetry. Ruskin's famous warning as an art-critic is of great value—"A poet," says he, "is great in proportion to the strength of his passion, and then, that strength being granted, in proportion to his government of it." Wordsworth's, poetry well illustrates this.

Though not a realist Fr. Thompson in his Hound of Heaven seems to imply a fear lest too much preoccupation with the far-off divine should cut us off from intimate commerce with the human. Wordsworth grasped thoroughly the kinship between the kindred points of heaven and home. This is good so far as it goes. Yet one may be too bold perhaps and say that this temper smacks of spiritual timidity or overcaution hardly consistent with the true prophet-poet's adventurous imaginative flight into unexplored realms of being—unconquered regions of beauty, love and joy—which is the glorious exclusive privilege of the seer and by which alone the bounds of human consciousness can be widened to enable art to reveal the perennial fount of living waters destined to slake the thirst of our soul and quicken this ancient earth and keep the old heavens ever fresh and young.

In contemporary poetry the advent of the Celtic[1] Movement with W. B. Yeats at its head discovered for the West once more the source of such a fount just as the new School of American Poets (since 1912) ever busy in undoing the work of Emerson and Whitman headed by Miss Harriet Monroe, Ezra Pound, Miss Amy Lowell, Mrs. Henderson, is bent on out-Heroding Herod in the modernist's craze[2] for "Simplicity and sincerity" of the newest mintage.

The plain fact is that poetry like philosophy cannot be wholly realistic whatever may be said in favour of realism by crazy criticism or faddists of modernism. Even when like Wordsworth's Skylark a poet is very faithful to the kindred points of heaven and home and must therefore turn to reality—which, however, is not, as Robert Lynd so rightly reminds us, "the make-believe existence of everyday" but that world "where God and love and beauty and life and death are seen in truer proportions"—he will fling on it from his imagination a light that never was on sea or land, for, verily it is a celestial gleam with which all common things of this earth are apparelled. "Poetry," says the same critic, "takes us into a world—fantastic it may be—beyond the prose of knowledge" and makes our world of daily routine a new place and does "carry us out of our walled lives like a dream" —*i.e.*, "liberate us into a fairy land of chiming music and flowers."

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[1] *Cf.* Irish Poets of To-day, An Anthology, ed. by L. D. O'Walters (Fisher Unwin).

[2] *Cf.* The Spoon River Anthology, ed. by Miss Monroe.

Oh! says the realist but that's *romanticism.* Not necessarily, say we. Rather this critical view-point brings out the real significance of Wordsworth's suggestive lines—

> "If thou indeed derive thy light from Heaven,
> Then to the measure of that Heaven-born light,
> Shine, Poet! in thy place, and be content."

For, "in poetry we are," to quote Mr. Lynd, "continually being reborn into new fairy-lands." It is in that realm alone that the cuckoo ceases to be a mere bird whose presence as a mystery transforms the commonplace world of hard realities of ordinary existence with its soul-killing preoccupation with "getting and spending" into an unsubstantial fairy place of joy and beauty in which a yellow primrose by the river's brim is always something more than a primrose and in which the nightingale sings of a tranced thing, itself being never born for death. Thus is the world of realities rightly seen through the imagination which by dint of the logic of emotion or passion (replacing that of the intellect) converts this world of so-called facts into a hollow shadow-show to supplant it by one of beautiful dreams (as deeper realities) of idealism which is truly a world of solid and permanent reality underlying the shifting and transient surface appearances destined to pass away. Into this deeper depth of reality the poet's imaginative eye peeps with the penetrating intuitive vision of a seer through the outer shell of futilities to discover there permanence in the midst of impermanence, the changeless amidst all changes, the One that ever abideth in the many destined to crumble to dust and ashes, unity in perplexing diversity of evanescent forms, Infinity in the finite. True, the poetry we have from passionate ungoverned youthful imagination, or mere fancy, gives us oftener than not a fine, fragile, visionary gossamer web as in Songs of Innocence that must in time develop into those of Experience. Poets and poetry in their maturity will temper such outpourings of the heart with an auster touch of restraint and reserve bringing to bear on æsthetic experiences the comprehensive grasp of a thoughtful, if not philosophic, mind which is ever a witness alike of the glory of the visionary realm of poetic fancy that refuses to be *at home* as of the grandeur of the tangible region of facts that refuse to soar into the impalpable ether of the *intense inane.* It is thus a higher synthesis becomes possible of hard fact and dreamy fiction—a blending of Dichtung and Wahrheit into that noble harmony which is the cherished haven of man's eternally voyaging soul. A peep into or an uplifted gaze on the transcendental region (of truths beyond the average intelligent and cultured man's narrow sphere of practical *experience*) is man's proud privilege, his glorious birth-right. The poet as poet claims a full and unfettered exercise of that primary and inalienable right as pre-eminently his personal privilege. But this supra-sensuous world of beauty, love and joy which are ultimately man's highest good is beyond the powers of the most minute and sympathetic observation or impressionistic execution. Wordsworth has rightly insisted on *intimations,* questionings and blank misgiving regarding the evidence of the mere senses which questioning breeds in man a sort of discontent with the limited and the fleeting. We long for an *abiding* reality limitless. This intense yearning is the mother of all poetry, all religion, all ecstasy, all rapture, all aspirations—it is inseparably and vitally connected with our deeper emotional life, with the life of the spirit in man hankering after the Infinite. The life of daily experiences monotonously repeated in a dull round of sameness—cut off from *wonder,* deprived of Adam's vision—is deplorably drab and sadly superficial. Man's deeper life is the true life of humanity—eternal, ever-varying. Patriotic passion, selfless friendship, self-effacing and emancipating love, tranced religious ardour—in a word, all our supreme aspirations constitute the life of the imagination in which alone our true self seeks and finds satisfaction and through which alone that self expresses and embodies itself. Then airy nothings become nurslings of immortality. Banished temporarily from the Eden of the perfection of Love, Beauty and Joy, the homesick soul roaming joylessly as an alien in a world of imperfections, where no satisfaction is, longs with a divine discontent for "Intellectual Beauty" to which the poet raises his song of praise and prayer. That is also why even the youthful Keats wistfully yearns to fly away with the *immortal* bird from a world where "hungry generations tread each other down," where beauty dies, love pines away and joy is shifting as a mirage that falsely lures one. These great poets of the Romantic age whatever their shortcomings in other respects at least realised that "the highest aim of art is no doubt to bring spiritual influences into touch with the world to enable them to manifest themselves in life."

W. B. Yeats, for instance, in such characteristic works as *The Land of Hearts' Desire* (1894), *Wind among the Reeds* (1899) and *Cathleen na Houlihan* (1902), makes the central theme idealistic by putting in its core the idea of a soul being gradually but inevitably lured away to the far-off unknown leaving behind all repose lest the soul vegitate. It is the spirit of Tennyson's "Ulysses" over again but with a significant difference. His forte is beauty expressed through music yet he does not like Poe in *Ulalume* reduce *meaning* conveyed in *words* to its minimum to allow disembodied pure music do its work of bringing back to our imagination by its suggestive power alone a faintly recollected dream or a half-remembered vision of a world of evanescent, delicate or subtle beauty that refuses to be limited and defined in a fixed form. Haunting imaginative vagueness reminiscent of Blake and Shelley (the latter, by the way, called by Yeats "the poet lost in endless reverie, wandering in some chapel of the star of infinite desire") ever suggesting an illusive beauty is the very soul of this kind of pure art. It produces its charming effect by acting on the reader's emotional sensibility and through it awakens the imagination to a sense of an impalpable world of beauty the inconstant and sudden visits of which leave in him a hankering for greater realisation of its witchery mixed with a keen yet not therefore deeply tragic regret for some lost happiness, joy or peace half-realised and half-forgotten. The poetry born of this type of aesthetic sensibility is the poetry of *moods*. Yeats's "Cap and Bells" may be accepted as a representative of this kind of poetry. Yeats practically supplements his poetic creed (if we may call it) by adding his own commentary on his mystic symbolism as an artist in prose works like "The Celtic Twilight" (1902), "Ideas of Good and Evil" (1903) and "Discoveries" (1907). His biographer's comment on this commentary is that "Art is coming to take the place of religion, or itself becomes a kind of religion in being the medium by which we pass from the material to the spiritual world." * * * "There is no place here for 'the machine shop' of the realists; no place for the sermon shop of social missionaries." Yeats definitely held as his deliberate if not reasoned conviction or faith that the deepest truth can be reached only by the imaginative way, by means of a sort of mystic vision of ecstatic moments truly divine in their visitation in which "meditation becomes trance" enabling us to immediately see into the very life of things and unravel the world's baffling mystery. The veil of Isis is thus lifted giving us a momentary glimpse of THE REAL, of That which Eternally is —it is the awful, sublime moment of the flinging open of "the flaming door" of the Infinite as "the dews drop slowly and dreams gather" and "we who still labour, when day sinks drowned in dew, being weary of the world's empires, bow down to you, Master of the still stars." Like his Dathi (*cf.* "The Blessed") he "flows his hands and smiles with the secrets of God in his eyes." In "He Remembers Forgotten Beauty" we read—

"I hear white Beauty sighing, too,
For hours when all must fade like dew,
But flame on flame, and deep on deep,
Throne over throne where in half sleep,

Cf. "The Valley of the Black Pig."

Their swords upon their iron knees,
Brood her high lonely mysteries."

We must finish. Let us close on the following eight lines of "He Tells of the Perfect Beauty":—

"O cloud-pale eyelids, dream-dimmed eyes,
The poets labouring all their days
To build a perfect beauty in rhyme
Are overthrown by a woman's gaze
And by the unlabouring brood of the skies:
And therefore my heart will bow, when dew
Is dropping sleep, until God burn time,
Before the unlabouring stars and you."

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

BE YOU MY FRIEND

You, whose heart is like mine,
Who have breathed the bitter wind
    and watched with burning eyes
    the sunken sun,
Who have paced the distant countries
    of your soul,
    to find assuage
And found it not;
Who, under rain-blown skies
    have rid the waves
Nor ever swerved—
Be you my friend.

Let hand take hand,
And from the peopled streets
    let us walk out
    into the fields
And let us feel once more
    the yielding grass,
And press aside the tresses
    of the trees.
There let us wait, until the silent night
    unhide the stars
And dreams that ages broken were,
    be whole.

H. M. BRATTER

Reviews

A Short History of the British Empire, by Agnes F. Dodd, B.A., pp. 276, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1925.

It briefly narrates the history and the present constitution of the British possessions in Asia, and Africa and of the oversea dominions. The book ought to be specially interesting to Indian students. It is interesting to note that one political party in Canada holds that Canada can stand out of imperial wars if she wishes to do so. Canada has now practically achieved diplomatic independence. "In 1908 in considering the question of a proposed immigration treaty with China, Sir Edward Grey took the view that a minister of the Crown in Canada has as much right to act in the name of the sovereign as a minister of the Crown in Great Britain." In the South African Union, we are told, "By the Defence Act of 19 2 every male British subject between his seventeenth and sixtieth year, is liable for service in time of war in any part of South Africa, either within or outside the Union. Peace training is provided for, and fifty per cent. of the citizens undergo military training for four years." Writing of the Asiatic Immigration Act of 1907 the author observes—"This measure caused a great deal of indignation in India and by the end of 1919 it was estimated that about 8,000 Indians had left the country and about 2,500 had been imprisoned for failing to comply with the provisions of the Registration Bill. The question of alien immigration has now been handed over to the Union Parliament, but unrestricted immigration would probably meet with determined resistance in the Transvaal." Writing of Kenya the author says—"The preponderance of the Indians over the white population, and the close geographical connection between East Africa and India had given the impression to many Indians that East Africa in the future was to be an Indian Colony, and as a preliminary step they wanted to be placed on a political equality with the Europeans, which would eventually have given them predominant influence in the Colony. The new constitution, however, established a communal franchise, which left the balance of power in the hands of the Europeans." In India the author admits, the peasants find it difficult to earn enough to suffice for the bare need of existence and the majority, probably about two-thirds, are described as "living in a state of squalor, ill-clothed by day and with insufficient blankets at night ill-fed, and the sole furniture of their miserable hovels a few brass cooking pots." We have not been able to agree with the author on some points but it is needless to emphasise those differences here. We strongly recommend this littl e volume to our under-graduates.

HISTORICUS

Aspectos da Civilzação da India Antiga, Pandurang a Pissurlencar, pp. 191, Livearia Coelho, Nova Goa, 1925.

The Portuguese literature is not very rich in works on Ancient Indian History but Portuguese is spoken by a large number of people in Europe and South America. This is why a patriotic Indian citizen of the Portuguese State has compiled this little volume. He does not claim originality and scrupulously acknowledges his indebtedness to all writers, old and modern. We admire his honesty and painstaking industry. His book will be interesting to a layman and useful to an advanced student as a handbook of reference. A chronological treatment would have added to its value.

S. S.

The Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmedi, translated by Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon, with explanatory notes and Appendices, pp. 255. Education Department, Baroda, 1924.

Mirat-i-Ahmedi was written by Ali Muhammad Khan, the last Moghul Diwan of Gujrat, about the time of the Maratha conquest of the province. Its value as a historical work cannot be overestimated as unlike the average. Twarika writes the author gives detailed information about the revenue administration of his province and quotes many original records. The original Persian work is now available in a lithographed edition which is however not free from errors. A few chapters of this interesting work have been translated by James Bird and the entire work has been rendered into Gujrati and Urdu. Prof. Nawab Ali and Mr. Seddon have placed all students of Indian History under a great obligation by translating into English the supplement of the Mirat. They have not relied upon the lithographed edition of Bombay but had the advantage of using a number of reliable manuscript copies. We expect from them an English translation of the entire work.

RUDRA SEN

The Heart of the Ancient Wood, by Charles G. D. Roberts, with six illustrations, pp. 234. J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London, 1925.

It is an extremely interesting story of the ancient wood and its furtive inhabitants that will appeal equally to the lovers of fiction and the students of Natural History. The author knows the ways of the furtive folk intimately and well and seems to have read their inmost thoughts with wonderful success. We cannot expect a more accurate and lifelike picture of a panther's stealthy movement than the following: "A tawny form, many times larger than the perfidious brown cat, but not altogether unlike in shape, crept stealthily toward the sound. Though his limbs looked heavy, his paws large in comparison with his lank body and small, flat, cruel head, his movements nevertheless were noiseless as light. At each low-stooping, sinuous step, his tail twitched nervously. When he caught sight of the crying child he stooped, and then crept up more stealthily than before, crouching so low that his belly almost touched the ground, his neck stretched out in line with his tail." With equal success the author has treated the psychology of a young maiden brought up in the forest in company of wild animals when she first experienced that sensation which any other girl would recognise as love. We liked the book immensely and finished it at one sitting.

S. N. S.

History of Kerala, by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., pp. 569. Erna Kulam, 1924.

The book does not give us a connected history of Kerala but it offers a running commentary in the shape of disjointed notes to an account of Kerala and its people left by a Dutchman. Some of the notes are somewhat out of date and do not come up to the modern standard of historical scholarship, but on the whole this bulky volume, posthumously published, will prove useful to the inquisitive student who will find many valuable information scattered in its pages. Probably, the defects indicated above would have been removed if the author had lived to make the final revision of his work.

S N. S.

Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings of Meetings, Vol. VI, January, 1924.

It has no special feature to distinguish it from the first five volumes reviewed in these columns. We are, however, glad to find that the Commission has decided to have some corresponding members but with its characteristic bureaucratic exclusiveness the Commission lays down that such members should not have any voice in its affairs. We suppose only specialists of some eminence will be elected corresponding members and we know some members owe their place in the Commission to their official position alone. Under these circumstances it would have been wiser to strengthen the Commission by the co-option of a number of specialists willing to study and edit the records and permitting the coresponding members to take an effective part in the affairs of the Commission.

RUDRA SEN

THE LATE DR. T. O. D. DUNN[1]

In the presence of the sorrow which this day's ceremony recalls, there is but little room for the tinsel eloquence of the spoken word, but much for the deep silent feeling of the heart. It will, however, I think be in accordance with the wishes of all of you, if I speak, sincerely and briefly, the feelings which are uppermost in the mind of us all to-day.

The late Dr. Dunn, my colleague for 14 years, and my official superior for two short periods during that time, was in January, 1924, called to great responsibilities and great opportunities. In less than a month, on February 21st, he was with awful suddenness snatched away by the inscrutable hand of fate from the honourable and brilliant career which seemed to us to be opening up before him.

In the year of the tragedy, it was my duty to place on official record a reference to the event. I wrote "Education in Bengal, at the crisis in its history, when so much is waiting to be done, could ill afford to spare the energy and administrative capacity, which combined with scholarly attainments to make Dr. Dunn one of the striking personalities of the service."

I think no one will deny that characterisation. Without a shadow of doubt he was one of those men who, while doing the day's work with energy, efficiency, and penetrating judgment, contributed to the world in which he moved that indefinable something which is born of that equally indefinable quality called personality. You could not ignore Dr. Dunn, and whether he was inspecting a school, or running an office, or reviewing a book, or delighting a dinner table with inimitable sallies of wit, he stood out conspicuously as a man distinctly gifted with qualities out of the common run. It was in the fitness of things when he was called upon to assume charge of the Department of Education when Dr. Hornell retired.

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[1] Speech delivered on the 23rd August, 1925, at Chinsurah, on the occasion of the unveiling of an Obelisk erected by the teachers of the Government schools of Bengal as a mark of their regard and respect.

It is my duty to-day to unveil an obelisk which will keep his memory green in Bengal. We cannot mourn at his grave, for the river was his tomb, and no one knows where his body found its last resting place. To antique ideas to be tombless was to suffer a fate too terrible to contemplate, but our English thoughts on the subject are moulded in other fashion to-day. "All the world is the tomb of famous men" said the Greek Statesman in pronouncing an oration on those who died for their country far from their native shore; and the great oceans and rivers of the world have swallowed up so many countless thousands of Englishmen who died in the upbuilding of the British Commonwealth of Nations that it would be out of harmony with that spirit which has made the great waters one vast graveyard of British and in latter years too of Indian dead, if we were to dwell unduly on that particular aspect of the tragedy we recall to-day.

But though we and those to whom he was near and dear cannot mourn at his tomb, in our English fashion, there will, after to-day, be a monument 'round which our thoughts can concentrate when we think of him, and where, on the anniversary of his death flowers can be laid by those who still respect his memory. And to my mind one of the peculiarly satisfactory feature of this obelisk will be the record of how it came to being. Some day in distant future men may ask who gave this monument, and some perhaps ignorant of its origin will say that the Sircar erected it in memory of one of its officers. But if ever the rumour arises it will be false and a derogation from the dignity of the monument. For this monument possesses significance and dignity a hundredfold greater than would be the case, if it were an official monument, or even a monument paid for by rich men,

T. O. D. DUNN

It is an offering of affection and respect from the scanty savings of the teachers of Bengal. To those who organised this project, to those who subscribed, I say "All honour to you. You have honoured yourselves and you have honoured your profession." You have shown that you recognise just as I and all my higher officials gladly and proudly recognise, that we are all one great profession, director, inspectors, and teachers, one great band of brothers united by professional pride in our common work, linked by mutual sympathy, affection and respect, in our common war against ignorance and prejudice. To you all I say simply, I am proud of every one of these teachers who helped towards this project. You have given proof of that professional honour which is the foundation of all great professions, and which will in the progress of time raise the teaching profession to the level in public estimation of those other great professions, some of them of far less social value, which now hold pride of place.

It is clear from the audience which I am addressing that Dr. Dunn's death was and is mourned by men of many different faiths. Each faith will interpret the occurrence in accordance with the tenets of its belief. Those who profess the faith to which Dr. Dunn belonged can only pray with his sorrowing relatives: "Lord, thou knowest best; they will be done." We think of the terrible shock to the aged father, the sorrowing widow, following on the news flashed across the cable only a few brief weeks before, of his promotion to high responsibilities. But that the blow was borne with high courage by his kith and kin finds proof in a poem written by his niece, the daughter of his sister, aged 12, which I quote, not only for its pathos and high courage, which leaves one with difficulty dry-eyed, but for the evidence which it affords of the intellectuality of the family from which Dr. Dunn derived his birth:

"See the night cometh, the darkness slips down.
Evening is golden on still mountain's crown,

And a bird calling high, Oh ! so high,
Knows the soul of a warrior lighteth the sky.

See the moon riseth, living am I.
Fools, that ye think it so dreadful to die,
Listen, beloved ones, each has his hour ;
God wanted me in my youth, in my power.

Ere age could touch me, misery hold,
Or wealth freeze my heart in a bondage of gold,
God the all-seeing leant from His throne,
And the soul of the ocean went up with my own.

See the day dawneth, weep thou no more,
Say, can you hear me ? I stand at the door,
Out of deep darkness springeth this sorrow,
Joy flashes in on the wings of the morrow."

Death at the height of a man's power, with the life work only half done, will always be an event of tragic and solemn import. Words are idle in the face of such an event, and cannot help, but when the overwhelming sorrow which it causes is faced with the high courage which this remarkable poem betokens, and is softened by evidence of affection and respect of the nature which the erection of this obelisk affords, the sting of death at least in part is taken away.

I unveil this monument in the hope that during the years to come it will preserve the memory of one who lost his life in playing his part in the war against ignorance in this land of Bengal, and who, had he been spared, would undoubtedly have done great things for the spread of knowledge within its bounds.

E. F. OATEN

Ourselves

THE LATE DR. SCRIMGEOUR.

We have to record yet another untimely death amongst the members of the Post-graduate staff. Dr. Scrimgeour, Professor of the Scottish Churches College, and lecturer in the department of English, Calcutta University, breathed his last on the 8th August, 1925, having undergone a fatal operation in the hospital. Dr. Scrimgeour typified in his person all the great Christian virtues—faith, hope and charity. A brilliant student of English literature, he taught three generations of Bengali students who were deeply attached to him for his affability of manners, genuine sympathy for Indian aspirations and his scholarly instincts. Our respectful condolences go out to Mrs. Scrimgeour who could not have even the consolation of nursing her husband in his last illness, having been far away from India.

* * *

SIR ERNEST RUTHERFORD.

The Senate of the Calcutta University has to be congratulated on its fortunate capture of Sir Ernest Rutherford, F.R.S., Cavendish Professor of Experimental Physics at Cambridge, and Nobel Laureate in Chemistry, on his way back to England from New Zealand. Sir Earnest Rutherford's researches in the domain of Radio-activity and Atomic Structure are world-famous and we are all anxiously waiting to hear the great *Savant.*

We might, however, incidentally illustrate the freedom that this University enjoys even in the matter of appointing an eminent person like Sir Ernest Rutherford to deliver a course of two or three lectures on an honorarium of Rs. 2,000 only.

The proposal emanated from the Syndicate, it was passed by the Senate but must receive confirmation from the Government of Bengal. And yet, we are told, the Calcutta University has acquired "home rule" only too soon !

* * *

THE GURUPRASANNA GHOSH SCHOLARSHIP.

The Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for the year was divided by the Syndicate between Mr. Sarbanisahay Guha Sarkar and Mr. Bibhutibhusan Lahiri each receiving Rs. 1,000 per annum, to be continued for a period of three years. The amount of scholarship is small but we trust the scholars will spare no pains in their endeavour to fulfill the object of the donor and walk in the narrow groove of service.

* * *

DATES OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

The Syndicate have fixed the following dates for the commencement of the various University examinations :

Matriculation Examination, 1926—Monday, the 1st March, 1926.

I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, 1926—Wednesday, the 10th March, 1926.

B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations (Honours), 1926—Tuesday, the 16th March, 1926.

B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations (Pass), 1926—Tuesday, the 23rd March, 1926.

L.T. and B.T. Examinations, 1926—Monday, the 15th March, 1926.

Final M.B. Examination, 1925—Monday, the 2nd November, 1925.

Preliminary M.B. Examination, 1925—Wednesday, the 11th November, 1925.

First M.B. Examination, 1925—Tuesday, the 17th November, 1925.

Preliminary Examination in Law—Monday the 11th January, 1926.

Intermediate Examination in Law—Wednesday, the 20th January, 1926.

Final Examination in Law—Monday, the 25th January, 1926.

* * *

RAI A. C. BOSE BAHADUR.

It is a matter of satisfaction to us all that the Senate has, on the recommendation of the Syndicate, without a dissentient voice reappointed the present Controller of Examinations, Rai Bahadur Abinaschandra Bose, M.A., Premchand Roychand Scholar, for a further period of five years. A mathematician of repute, an administrator with rare organising ability, above all, a gentleman, liberal-minded and open-handed, Mr. Bose has, ever since his appointment at a time when the thermometer of the prestige and dignity of the University was below the freezing point, fully justified the choice of his great friend and patron, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. A hard taskmaster who has to deal with 1,400 paper-setters, 2,000 examiners and 39,000 candidates appearing at the different University Examinations, the Controller has never lost equanimity of mind and has all along served his *alma mater* loyally and faithfully and to the best of his abilities which are really uncommon.

* * *

A NEW PH.D.

Our congratulations to Mr. Ramkrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., who has just been admitted to the much coveted degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The subject of Mr. Rao's thesis was "Emerson: His Genius and His Poetry," and he was examined by distinguished scholars like Mr. H. R. James, formerly Principal of the Presidency College, Mr. H. C. Maitra, Principal of the City College and Mr. J. R. Banerjee, Vice-Principal of the Vidyasagar College.

* * *

LECTURES ON JAVA MONUMENTS.

The Senate has, on the recommendation of the Syndicate, appointed Dr. T. Ph. Vogel (Leiden), a Reader to deliver a course of two lectures on the "Hindu Monuments of Java." The subject is of absorbing interest to scholars of Ancient Indian History and Culture. The Reader will merely receive his actual travelling allowances, for break of journey, amounting in all to a couple of hundred rupees and yet the appointment will require the sanction of the Government of Bengal. Autonomy of the University indeed!

* * *

THE JUBILEE POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS.

On the results of the last B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, 1925, the Jubilee Post-graduate scholarships were awarded to the following students:

Name.	College.
Asoknath Bhattacharyya	Presidency College.
Dwijendralal Majumdar	Ditto.
Santoshkumar Chattopadhyay	Ditto.
Susantakumar Nandi	Wesleyan College, Bankura.
Azizur Rahaman Khalifa	Rajshahi College.
Sachindranath Raychaudhuri	Presidency College.
Randhir Singh Bachhawat	St. Xavier's College.
Nareschandra Deb	Presidency College.
Asitkrishna Mukhopadhyay	Ditto.
Bani Chatterjee	Bethune College.
Krishnagopal Ray	Presidency College.
Edna Weingartner	Loreto House.

The last named candidate in the list, Miss Edna Weingartner, we are told, was bracketed with a male student, but the Syndicate being limited to twelve scholarships was obliged to decide in favour of the lady student, hoping that some of the scholars might prefer to have the more valuable Foundation Scholarships of the Presidency College when the male student mentioned above will have his chance. We find four students in Mathematics were bracketed first in the first class and according to the rules of the endowment, four of the scholarships have gone to them. We trust the Board of Examiners will devise a method by which a little discrimination could be made possible so that half a dozen students might not be bracketed together as being first in the list.

* * *

THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY.

The Imperial Library of Calcutta, we are told, will soon be removed to Delhi, the Eternal City of India. We regret more than anybody else the unfortunate decision of the Imperial Government of India, not merely because we have in our midst a scholarly and lovable Librarian like Mr. Chapman, whose articles in the columns of the *Review* must have been read with delight, but because it is in the fitness of things that the Imperial Library should continue to be located in Calcutta, the intellectual centre of the British Empire in India rather than be relegated to a city of graveyards, surcharged with an atmosphere where dangling courtiers and simpering politicians move in a ceaseless process of migration. A short time ago, the Imperial Library, was, by an *Ukase* of the Imperial Government, removed from its habitation to which it claimed prescriptive title by long possession and the voluntary gift of the citizens of Calcutta, so that the historic and commodious building might be tenanted by the *agents provocateur* of the Imperial Government, the officers of the Income Tax Department, and now the mandate has gone forth that the Imperial Library must be removed to Delhi. Mysterious are the ways of the Bureaucracy in India, as mysterious as were the methods of Muhammad Shah Tughlak, who was fired with the same zeal for centralisation, who loved with the same ardour an atmosphere of pure study and yet was called *the Mad* by the deliberate verdict of history.

* * *

PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE MATRICULATION REGULATIONS.

We publish here below the changes in the Regulations for the Matriculation Examination proposed by the Matriculation Regulations Committee appointed by the Senate on the 27th September, 1924. The Committee consisted of the following gentlemen:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Greaves.
E. F. Oaten, Esq.
Sir Nilratan Sircar.
Principal Herambachandra Maitra.
Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary.
Principal G. C. Bose.
S. C. Mahalanobis, Esq.
Sir P. C. Ray.
Vice-Principal J. R. Banerjea.
Kaviraj Jaminibhusan Ray.
Dr. Abdulla Suhrawardy.
P. N. Banerjee, Esq.
Professor Pramathanath Banerjea.
Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq.

Mr. Mookerjee was elected Secretary to the Committee which presented practically a unanimous report which was adopted by the Senate on the 8th of August, 1925. The proposed regulations are now awaiting sanction before the

Government of Bengal, and will, we trust, soon after obtaining the seal and sanction of the Government, be translated into the law of the land.

CHAPTER XXX.

MATRICULATION EXAMINATION.

1. The Matriculation Examination shall be held annually in Calcutta and in such other places as shall, from time to time, be appointed by the Syndicate, the approximate date to be notified in the Calendar.

2. Ordinarily, only students, who have been educated for at least one school year previous to the date of the Matriculation Examination at a school recognised by the Calcutta University for such purpose, shall be admitted to the Matriculation Examination. Private candidates who have not attended any school for at least one year previous to the Examination, shall also be admitted to the Examination, provided that (*a*) before appearing at such Examination they have passed a preliminary test held for such purpose by a Government Inspector of Schools or under his orders, or by the Headmaster of a recognised school of ten years' standing, and (*b*) satisfactory evidence is adduced before the Inspector or such Head Master that the candidate has prosecuted a regular course of study, and has been subject to proper discipline.

3. Every candidate, sent up for the Matriculation Examination by a recognised school, shall be required to produce a certificate (*a*) of good conduct, (*b*) of diligent and regular study, (*c*) of having satisfactorily passed periodical school examinations and other tests, (*d*) of probability of passing

4. Every candidate for admission to the Matriculation Examination shall send in his application with a certificate in the form prescribed by the Syndicate, either to the Controller of Examinations or to a local officer recognised by the Syndicate. Every such application must reach the office of the Controller of Examinations at least six weeks before the date fixed for the commencement of the examination.

5. A fee of fifteen rupees shall be forwarded by each candidate with his application. A candidate, who fails to pass, or to present himself for examination, shall not be entitled to claim a refund of the fee. He may

be admitted to one or more subsequent Matriculation Examinations, subject to the conditions laid down in these Regulations.

6. The Matriculation Examination shall be conducted by means of printed papers, the same papers being used at every place at which the Examination is held. All papers, other than those on the Vernacular, will generally be set in the English language.

7. The Matriculation Examination shall be a general test of fitness for admission to the University of Calcutta.

Instruction and examination in all subjects, other than English shall be conducted in the vernacular:

Provided that the Syndicate may, in special cases or class of cases, make exceptions to this rule or postpone its operation for a prescribed time.

Provided further that whenever the Managing Committee of a School, supported by at least one-half of the parents or guardians concerned, desire that the medium should be a language other than the vernacular the Syndicate shall exempt the candidates of such school from the operation of the general rule.

8. Candidates for the Matriculation Examination shall be examined in the following subjects:

(1) A Vernacular Language, *viz.*, Bengali, Urdu, Assamese, Oriya, Hindi.	Two papers.
(2) English	Two papers.
(3) Mathematics	One paper.
(4) History	One paper.
(5) Geography	One paper.

(6) At least *one* but not *more than two* of the following:—

(*a*) A third language, *viz.*, Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Armenian, Latin, Greek, Syriac, French, German, an Indian Vernacular other than the Vernacular of the candidate already taken up as a compulsory subject.

(*b*) Drawing and Practical Geometry.

(*c*) Mensuration and Surveying.

(*d*) Experimental Mechanics.

(*e*) Elementary Science (Physics and Chemistry).

(*f*) Hygiene including First Aid.

(*g*) Botany.

(*h*) Commercial Geography.

(*i*) Business Method and Correspondence.

(*j*) Such other subject as may be prescribed from time to time by the Syndicate ... ... One paper.

Provided that no one will be allowed to obtain a degree in Arts unless he has at some stage passed a University Examination in a classical language.

The course in the Vernacular shall include selected texts. Candidates shall be required to translate passages from English into Vernacular. Questions shall also be set on Composition and Grammar.

The course in English shall include selected texts. Candidates shall be required to translate passages from Vernacular into English. Questions shall also be set on Composition and Grammar.

The course in Mathematics shall include Arithmetic, Algebra, and Plain Geometry.

The course in History shall include a Reader on the History of England and a Reader on Indian History with special reference to Bengal, including a short account of the administration of British India and of the progress of India under British rule.

The course in Geography shall include the rudiments of General, Mathematical, Physical, and Commercial Geography, together with the Geography of India in fuller detail.

The course in the third language shall include selected texts. Questions shall also be set on Composition and Grammar.

The Senate shall, from time to time, on the recommendation of the Board of Studies and Faculty concerned prescribe a detailed syllabus in each of the subjects of examination.

The Syndicate shall have the power to add, from time to time, to the list of recognised vernaculars. If the vernacular of a candidate is a language not included in this list, he shall have, in lieu of the two papers on the Vernacular, two papers on any two subjects other than the one already selected by him out of the subjects specified in Clause (6). Such candidate shall be allowed to answer his papers in English.

Each paper shall be of three hours and shall carry 100 marks.

9. Candidates for the Matriculation Examination shall produce a certificate that they have received training for a specified period, according to a prescribed syllabus, and under an approved teacher, in at least one of the following subjects,—

(*a*) Agriculture and Gardening.
(*b*) Carpentry
(*c*) Smithery.
(*d*) Book-keeping.
(*e*) Spinning and Weaving.
(*f*) Tailoring and Sewing.
(*g*) Music.
(*h*) Domestic Economy.
(*i*) Basket-making
(*j*) Telegraphy.
(*k*) Such other subject as may, from time to time, be prescribed by the Syndicate.

The Syndicate shall, from time to time, frame rules for specification of the period of training, preparation of syllabus, and recognition of teachers.

The Syndicate may suspend the operation of this section in the case of schools which may be unable, by reason of financial stress or otherwise, to comply with the requirements of the University.

10. As soon as possible after the Examination the Syndicate shall publish a list of the candidates who have passed, arranged in three divisions, each in alphabetical order. Every candidate shall on passing receive a certificate in the form entered in Appendix A.

11. In order to pass the Matriculation Examination a candidate must obtain :—

(*i*) In Vernacular ...	36 per cent. of the total marks.
(*ii*) In English	36 per cent. of the total marks.
(*iii*) In each of the other papers.	30 per cent. of the total marks.

And in the aggregate of all the papers 36 per cent. of the total marks: Provided that if less than 30 marks are obtained in any of the additional papers or subjects, such marks shall not be included in the aggregate.

12. Candidates who obtain 60 per cent. of the marks in aggregate shall be placed in the First Division, and those who obtain 50 per cent. in the Second Division.

If a candidate has passed in the compulsory subjects and in the aggregate, the marks in excess of 30 obtained by him in the second additional subject, if any, shall be added to his aggregate, and the aggregate so obtained shall determine his division and his place in the list.

13. Any candidate who has failed in one subject only and by not more than 5 per cent. of the full marks in that subject, and has shown merit by gaining 480 marks, shall be allowed to pass. In order to determine the Division in which such a candidate will be placed and his place in the Division, the number of marks by which he has failed in one subject shall be deducted from his aggregate.

14. If the moderators are of opinion that, in the case of any candidate not covered by the preceding Regulations, consideration ought to be allowed by reason of his high proficiency in a particular subject or in the aggregate they shall report the case to the Syndicate, and the Syndicate may pass such candidate.

APPENDIX A.

Matriculation Examination.

I certify that

duly passed the Matriculation Examination held in the month of , 192 , and was placed in Division. His subjects were (1) Vernacular ( ) (2) English (3) Mathematics (4) History (5) Geography and (6) (7) , and he received a training in

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA,
The

Controller of Examinations.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The following sentence is to be inserted after the word "*Admission*" at the beginning of section 3 :—

"No student shall be admitted to an affiliated college until he shall have completed the age of fifteen years."

* * *

The pivot of the whole scheme of reconstruction is the adoption of the Indian Vernaculars as the medium of instruction and examination in all subjects other than English. The doctrine of the vernacularisation of our school curricula, however, has been hedged round by restrictions by the inclusion of the following provisos :

"Provided that the Syndicate may, in special cases or class of cases, make exceptions to this rule or postpone its operation for a prescribed time."

"Provided further that whenever the Managing Committee of a school, supported by at least one half of the parents or guardians concerned, desire that the medium should be a language other than the vernacular, the Syndicate shall exempt the candidates of such school from the operation of the general rule."

These restrictions were, we understand, imposed as a sort of concession to the principle of communal representation. It may be within the recollection of our readers that when the scheme of the vernaculars being adopted by the University as its medium of instruction and examination, was moved by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, he was opposed by one class of distinguished scholars who rightly or wrongly believed that the adoption of such a course will further impoverish the anæmic knowledge of English of our students. A second line of argument was developed by a certain section of our educationists who desired to introduce option instead of obligation in the matter These two points of view have been fairly met by the Committee. A far more dangerous idea was raked up by our patriotic countrymen, who saw in the scheme for adoption of vernacular as the medium of instruction and examination a direct challenge to the great Mahomedan Community in Bengal. Obsessed by the doctrine of extra-territoriality, so very familiar to students of International Law, some of our legislators attacked the scheme as an attempt to subvert Islamic thought and culture. We realise full well, the force of the argument when we remember that the spoken Bengali of Hindus and Moslems in Bengal differ a great deal but dialectical variation which is possible and exists in various forms in the different districts of Bengal should not be allowed to mar one entire scheme for the development of the mother tongue of the candidate. The reply of the Committee to the question of communal interests is instructive and runs as follows :

Moslem Interests.

"22. One main difficulty of a political nature which the Government of Bengal obviously feel is the necessity of safeguarding the supposed interests of Moslems. In this connexion we ought to emphasise the fact that no language is specified as *the* Vernacular which will be used everywhere. In most cases it will naturally be Bengali. When Urdu or any other language is the main vernacular in any school, that language can, and generally will, be used. When two or more vernaculars exist in a school, it will obviously be necessary to retain English. In this connexion, however, it is our duty to remove the misapprehension which prevails regarding the vernacular of Moslems in Bengal. If we take the Matriculation Examination of the last three years, we find that 19,131 candidates registered their names in 1922, 18,867 in 1923 and 18,487 in 1924. In 1922 there were 3,775 Moslem candidates, in 1923, 3,736, in 1924, 3,135. Of these only 377 offered Urdu as their vernacular in 1922, 503 in 1923, and 462 in 1924. There is accordingly no foundation for the assumption that the vernacular of Moslem candidates at the Matriculation Examination is generally Urdu.

The number of Urdu-speaking Moslems.

23. In this connexion we must point out that the statement that there are about 2 million Urdu-speaking Moslems in Bengal who will one day supply more candidates for the Matriculation than the small number 377 which they present now, needs correction and amplification before its precise bearing on the problem before us can be estimated, as a reference to the last Census Report will show. The following extract[1] from the report brings out in relief three main facts :

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[1] Census of India, 1923, Vol. V, Bengal, Part I, p. 309 and pp. 311-12.

firstly, that Hindusthani, Urdu and some other minor dialects are for the purposes of the Census lumped together and brought under the head "Hindi or Urdu," secondly, that it is, for this reason, difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty the number of Musalmans coming within this category, and thirdly, that the bulk of these people follow such vocations in life as render it almost impossible for them to avail themselves of the education we provide in our schools and thus to come within the academic jurisdiction of our University.

The Census Report observes:

Extracts from Census Report, 1921.

"Bengali is the mother tongue of almost 92 per. cent. of the total population of Bengal and considering the very large number of speakers 43,769,394 it is a language with remarkably little variation from place to place.

In the Province, as a whole, Hindi or Urdu is the language of 1,806,820 persons, 380 per 10,000 of the population. That most of them are immigrants is shown by the fact that 1,182,878 of them are males and only 623,942 are females. There is no approach to an equal balance of the sexes among those who speak the language except in Malda where there are 118,859 females to 104,388 males and in Murshidabad with 38,667 females to 36,405 males. Leaving aside these two districts in which Hindi is the language of an indigenous section of the population, there is distinctly less than one woman whose language is Hindi to two men. Hindi speakers are most common in Calcutta and in the industrial area up and down the Hooghly, where the language is spoken by most of the mill hands. There are towns like Bhadreswar and Titagarh, where Hindi is the language of the large majority of the population, but it is rarely spoken in rural areas in the 24-Parganas, Howrah, or Hooghly. It and Kherwari are the language most used in the coalfields in Burdwan District. Many of the tea garden coolies in Jalpaiguri District use it, and it is Hindi-speaking merchants, etc., rather than Bengalis, who have taken to trade in Darjeeling District.

The proportion returning Hindi or Urdu as their language at each of the last three censuses in Bengal and in each of the several quarters of the Province has been as given in the table below:

Number per 10,000 speaking Hindi or Urdu.

	1921	1911	1901
Bengal	380	414	359
Western Bengal	450	458	394

Our Vice-Chancellor

	1921	1911	1901
Central Bengal	735	782	702
Northern Bengal	539	572	438
Eastern Bengal, Dacca Division	105	128	117
Chittagong Division and Tripura State ...	340	409	313

Between 1901 and 1911 there was an increase in every Division corresponding to greatly increased immigration from the west. During the last decade there has been a reversal of this progress and a decrease in the proportion in every quarter of the Province though in no part has it been reduced to the level of 1901."

24. The above extract has been given not with a view to minimise the difficulties to which Government have referred but to clear the situation by establishing the facts. In practice, so far as Bengal is concerned, however, we feel the problem is soluble without undue hardship to those concerned. Urdu-speaking Moslems are in the main concentrated in a few localities such as Calcutta, Murshidabad and Dacca, and the adoption of Urdu or the retention of English in certain schools will meet most of their needs. In those few cases where such a course is impossible, the provision by Government of special scholarships to defray hostel expenses would provide a solution which would safeguard the interests of such Urdu-speaking Moslems, as might be forced to migrate to other schools where the medium was Urdu or English. We do not, therefore, consider that the needs of the Urdu-speaking Moslems in Bengal need place an insuperable barrier in the way of the change which we desire.[1]

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[1] Some of our members in this connection desire to draw attention to the administrative difficulties experienced by the Education Department in the Central Provinces, as disclosed in the following extract from its last Annual Report :

"The introduction of the Vernacular has complicated the problems of the administration. The two main vernaculars of the province are Hindi and Marathi and these have been prescribed as the medium of instruction in all the Government High Schools except one, namely, the Muhammadan High School, Amraoti, in which Urdu has been prescribed as the medium. As between Marathi and Hindi the medium follows the court language of the district. Only one vernacular is permitted as the medium in any particular school. This limitation which is rendered necessary by considerations of economy in staff and buildings has created considerable difficulties especially in schools which maintain only one section in the High School classes, and which therefore do not offer facilities for instruction through the medium of English. Urdu-speaking boys, in such schools, are faced with the alternative of studying through the medium of a vernacular with which they are not familiar, or of migrating to schools which provide instruction in English or their mother-tongue.

25. There then remains the problem of the Bengali-speaking Moslems. The Sadler Commission so far took cognisance of their supposed objections to education through the vernacular that it decided that option and not compulsion was essential in their interests. We, therefore, thought it necessary to obtain first-hand information from Moslem gentlemen engaged or interested in education. Those who were good enough to respond to the invitation were Nawab Bahadur Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Khan Bahadur, M.L.C., Maulvi Nurul Haq Chaudhury, M.L.C., Khan Bahadur Maulvi Tasaddak Ahmad, Head Master, Dacca Collegiate School, and Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh.[1] All these gentlemen, except the Nawab, whole-heartedly supported the proposal to make the vernacular the medium of instruction and examination, provided due care and caution were exercised while giving actual effect to the scheme.

Evidence taken by the Committee.

26. The objections which are usually raised from the Moslem standpoint against the adoption of the vernacular as the medium of instruction and examination were carefully analysed in a memorandum submitted to us by Khan Bahadur Maulavi Tasaddak Ahmad, himself an able Head Master. We cannot do better than quote from this memorandum, since it dispels certain misconceptions by bringing them to the test of practical experience :

"The main objections to the vernacular being made the medium of instruction so far as Muslim boys are concerned, are firstly, that they will be handicapped because of a lack of knowledge of Sanskrit, secondly, that such a step will mean a deterioration in the knowledge of English.

"With regard to the first objection I would point out that Sanskrit will no longer be a compulsory second language as in the past. So Hindu and Muhammadan boys would be on an equal footing in this respect. Again, the Bengali that is now to be found in text books has very little of Sanskrit in it and is easily intelligible to all Muslim boys who speak Bengali. Then again, Muslim boys have to learn a vernacular under the Regulations. So I fail to see how they can find it irksome to read their History or Geography or even Science in Bengali. On the other hand, we must remember what an amount of relief it will mean to the boy to learn a subject through the medium of his vernacular.

"With regard to the second objection my experience as a teacher for over a pretty long period tells me that English as a medium for learning a subject like History or Geography is a very poor substitute for the proper method of learning the foreign tongue. I believe and am firmly convinced that the knowledge of English can be immensely improved by the intensive study of one or two text books, by a varied reading of interesting story books and by a practical use of the language in conversation and speech. By such methods there will be a conscious effort on the part of the boy to learn the language, whereas by having it as a medium only, there is an unconscious half-hearted attempt to be skilful in using the language. I earnestly ask you all to consider which of these two is better.

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[1] Invitations were sent to many others but the Committee met with a disappointing response.

"It is said that the Bengali which is spoken by the Muslims is not the language of the book, but a mixture of Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Prakrit, Hindi, etc. It has been given the hybrid name of Mussalmani Bengali. I quite admit that it is so, but I daresay that the Muslim boys when answering their questions on vernacular composition do not use this Mussalmani Bengali. If they do so, they can hardly expect to pass the examination. If, therefore, they can use good Bengali when doing their vernacular papers I do not see any reason why they should not be able to do the same when doing their History or Geography or Science papers.

"I have some experience of examining answer papers of candidates coming from all over the province at a certain examination and I can assert without any fear of contradiction that except for spelling mistakes due to wrong pronunciation I have seldom come across any Mussalmani Bengali in their composition. The suggestion that the learning of Bengali makes a Mussalman boy un-Mussalman in thought and ideas and a 'believer in the transmigration of the soul' is too fantastic and atrocious to need serious consideration."

* * *

The Senate appears to have made a half-hearted attempt to initiate our Matriculates into the mysteries of vocational training. The subject is of vital interest to the people of Bengal and a reorganisation of the whole scheme of our Intermediate examinations, or the Higher Secondary Education of these provinces, on the lines of the Sadler Commission Report will, we trust, solve the question of vocational training to a very large number of our students. According to the proposed regulations,

"Candidates for the Matriculation Examination shall produce a certificate that they have received training for a specified period, according to a prescribed syllabus, and under an approved teacher, in at least *one* of the following subjects :

(*a*) Agriculture and Gardening ;
(*b*) Carpentry ;
(*c*) Smithery ;
(*d*) Book-keeping ;
(*e*) Spinning and weaving;
(*f*) Tailoring and sewing ;
(*g*) Music;
(*h*) Domestic Economy ;
(*i*) Basket-making;
(*j*) Telegraphy ;
(*k*) Such other subjects, as may, from time to time, be prescribed by the Syndicate."

The subjects are not of equal importance, whether we regard them from the strictly utilitarian point of view or from the standpoint of the financial capacities of our struggling educational institutions. They will, we hope, serve at any rate, to enliven the otherwise dull routine of a student at school, and to fight the long-standing aversion of the people of Bengal to any form of manual labour whatever. It will still be possible, however, for a school to choose subjects like Book-keeping to enable its students to acquire early the habits of a clerk but a beginning, however humble, has been made and we are anxiously awaiting the result of the new experiment.

* * *

Every candidate will also be required to choose at least *one* but not more than *two* of the following :—

(*a*) A third language, *viz.*, Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Armenian, Latin, Greek, Syriac, French, German, an Indian Vernacular other than the vernacular of the candidate already taken up as a compulsory subject ;

(*b*) Drawing and Practical Geometry;
(*c*) Mensuration and Surveying;
(*d*) Experimental Mechanics;
(*e*) Elementary Science (Physics and Chemistry);
(*f*) Hygiene including First Aid;
(*g*) Botany;
(*h*) Commercial Geography;
(*i*) Business Method and Correspondence;
(*j*) Such other subjects as may be prescribed from time to time by the Syndicate.

The choice of alternatives given to the candidate is large but most schools will probably be tempted to make provision for the teaching of some of the languages included in (*a*) only, and the result may be that the prevailing literary character of our curricula will continue to dominate for many a year to come.

The proposed regulations thus render it obligatory on a student to submit to an examination covering at least eight if not nine papers instead of seven papers as at present and raise the standard of passes in the First division from 50% to 60% respectively and in the Second Division from 40% to 50% (including the History of India and the History of England).

The study of History and Geography has been rendered compulsory and text books have been prescribed both in English and in the Vernaculars. All these embody suggestions for improving the method of instruction and the standard of examination. The new regulations, however, have not a word to say in favour of religious or moral instruction or physical culture. These are very serious omissions and we trust the directors of our education will realise soon that intellectual development in a boy is not complete without an improvement in his character and physique.

Our congratulations to Mr. Mookerjee on the excellent Report which he was mainly responsible for writing and which he had the honour to present before the Senate for its acceptance.

* * *

RESULTS OF LAW EXAMINATIONS (*July, 1925*).

Preliminary.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,251 of whom 460 passed, 471 failed, one was expelled and 319 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 13 were placed in the First Class.

Intermediate.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 572 of whom 332 passed, 103 failed and 137 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 34 were placed in the First Class.

Final.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 838 of whom 281 passed, 263 failed and 294 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 17 were placed in the First Class.

* * *

THE KEDARNATH BANERJEE MEDALS.

The Kedarnath Banerjee Medals for 1923, 1924 and 1925 were awarded to the following gentlemen:

For 1923.

Sasankajiban Ray, M.A., D.L.

For 1924.

Radhabinod Pal, M.A., D.L.

For 1925.

Bijankumar Mukherjee, D.L.

* * *

D. P. H. EXAMINATION RESULTS.

The number of candidates registered for the D.P.H. Examination, held in August, 1925, was 10 of whom 7 passed, 1 failed, 1 was absent and the admission of the remaining one was cancelled.

* * *

The *Nagarjuna* Prize.

Our congratulations to Mr. Gopalchandra Chakravarti, M.Sc., who has just secured the *Nagarjuna* Prize and Medal for 1924. The Board of Examiners consisted of five eminent chemists of the country and they were all unanimous in their opinion that the thesis was quite up to the standard.

* * *

DR. CHAKRAVARTI: LINGUISTIC SPECULATIONS OF THE HINDUS.

We have great pleasure in publishing a few opinions of scholars on the thesis of Dr. Prabhatchandra Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., one of our lecturers in Sanskrit in the Post-graduate Department, entitled "The Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus." Says Prof. Keith:

> "I consider your papers set forth in a clear and effective manner the fundamental doctrines of Indian speculation, on the question of speech. The adduction of the evidence of the Mahābhāṣya and of the Vākyapadiya is specially interesting and valuable, and all who are interested in

linguistic matters must be glad to have so convenient a summary disengaged from unnecessary detail, of the views of Sanskrit grammarians."

Prof. Winternitz is of the following opinion:

> "It is not too much to say that grammar is the one science in which the ancient Indians by far surpassed all other nations of antiquity. No wonder that both grammarians and philosophers were not content with studying the grammar of Sanskrit, but also occupied themselves with speculations on the philosophy of language. Your papers are a valuable contribution to our knowledge of these speculations."

Mahāmohopādhyāya Dr. Ganganath Jha is of the impression that the book

> "is an important piece of research on a subject to which practically no attention had been given, till now; it also evinces the promise of a very important and fascinating field of study and research."

The learned Vice-Chancellor also vainly hoped that Dr. Chakravarti would

> "soon be placed in a position where he would be sufficiently free from cares to be able to devote himself entirely to his important studies and research."

Pandit Ramavatara Sarma Sahityacharyya of Patna is of the following opinion:

> "These writings show profound study and capacity for research. He has selected a rather difficult subject for his study, but has already dealt with it with thoroughness marvellous for his age and limited resources available in the country."

And we are told the Post-Graduate Department swarms with incapable and worthless men!

* * *

THE CONFERENCE AT DARJEELING.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor made the following statement before the Senate on the 12th September, 1925:

"As you are aware, on Friday week we received a telegram asking that some representatives of the University should proceed to Darjeeling to discuss the question of the Post-Graduate grant with the representatives of the Government. Accordingly, on Monday night, six of us proceeded to Darjeeling. We had two meetings, one on Monday, presided over by His Excellency the Chancellor, and the second on Wednesday. His Excellency renewed the assurance, which he gave at the last Convocation that the Government were prepared to give to the University adequate financial assistance for the Post-Graduate Department, and for any other needs of the University. The Government accepted as the basis of calculation the appointments and the salaries contained in the Post-Graduate Reorganisation Committee's Report as adopted by the Senate in May last, and it was agreed that the appointments should be made on that basis for a period of five years. The Government also agreed to meet any deficit, the amount being a question of account which is to be subsequently determined after certain figures have been settled between us. It is hoped that shortly an agreement may be come to on these matters, and that the grant may be finally fixed.

"The Government accepts the position that there must be expansion in the work of the University, but asks that if this involves further Government assistance they should be consulted beforehand. The Government also promised to favourably consider when this grant is finally agreed any application from the University for a building grant, for example, for the addition of a further storey to the Asutosh Building. We understood that the Government are willing to provide funds for the establishment of a professorship in Arabic and Persian as recommended by the Post-Graduate Reorganisation Committee, and to give any further assistance to this Department over and above what is contained in the Committee's Report. The Government will also agree to the endowment of a professorship in Sanskrit, and we have been asked to prepare schemes for these purposes."

NOTES OF AN ACADEMIC "ORPHAN OF THE STORM"

When I presented my notes to my tired readers last month I hardly knew that

> "A drop serene hath quenched my orbs
> Or dim suffusion veiled."

The proverbial printer's devil entered into a conspiracy with the 'horns' and many an error[1] crept into the pages of the *Review*, occupied by me. My only consolation is

> "You'd scarce expect one of my age,
> To speak in public on the stage;
> And if I chance to fall below
> Demosthenes or Cicero
> Don't view me with a critic's eye,
> But pass my imperfections by,
> Large streams from little fountains flow,
> Tall oaks from little acorns grow."

* * *

So our conquering warriors have come back from Darjeeling. The short and swift announcement of the sportive Vice-Chancellor reminds one of the proverbial *veni, vidi, vici.* The Rubicon was crossed in its upward stream, Darjeeling was reached, the Government house was approached and the Government of Bengal was conquered. So that I shall no more have to sing—"delaying long, delay no more." And what shall I say of the Chancellor?

> "The storm was laid, the winds retired
> Obedient to thy will,
> The sea that roared at thy command
> At thy command was still."

* * *

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[1] Cases of substitution: p. 522, l. 2, "a" for "the"; p. 510, l. 19, "of" for "at"; p. 510, l. 25 "is" for "does"; p. 527, l. 3, "sea" for "seat."
Cases of addition: p. 522, l. 1, "do" into "es"; p. 521, l. 9, "out"; p. 522, l. 13, "with"; *ibid*, l. 15, "of"; p. 511, l. 21, "had."
Cases of elimination: p. 520, l. 9, "either."
Cases of orphan: Any more will be welcome and a prize will be given!

But what of the self-appointed oracles of the Government the rumbling of whose voice strikes terror into my heart so often in the cloister pale? Professor Jadunath Sircar, Mr. R. D. Banerjee and Babu Ramananda Chatterjee—are they "we the people of Bengal"? I wonder. The present Bengal Legislative Council, we learn on pontifical authority, is but the result of what the Duke of Grafton once called "the merest accident of an accident." And who is the Government of Bengal? Our dusky Senators? The old dame of Hare Street? Or, that wagging tongue—the 'Prattler'? If the Vice-Chancellor's comprehension of the situation is correct, then a solution to this puzzling question must have been given in the 'Canterbury Tales':

"And smale foules maken melodië,
That slepen alle night with open eye,
So priketh hem nature in hir corages;
Than longen folk to goon on pilgrimages."

* * *

The Vice-Chancellor's speech and the prolific language of our pilgrims from the Eternal City induce the much despised man in the street to believe that "peace and good will" have come upon the Calcutta University. Is the position really so? I propose to tackle the thorny questions raised in the simple pronouncement of the Vice-Chancellor in a future issue of the *Review*. We are all now in a holiday mood and let us for the moment agree in saying

" 'But what good came of it at last?'
Quoth little Peterkin."
"Why that I cannot tell," said he;
"But 'twas a famous victory."

* * *

The Hon'ble Member in charge of Education, I am told, was graciously pleased to pay a flying visit to the University the other day. What the result of the *tête-á-tête* between the representatives of the University and the apex of the governmental structure was, I don't know. A little bird whispers into my ears that an ambitious scheme was propounded for the development of Arabic and Persian. Glory be to Allah! Even the Custodian of Law and Order in these provinces whose mansion is "before the starry threshold of Jove's court,"

> "Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot
> Which men call Earth"

comes down to the plains and is at once converted into a "proclaimed offender"—"an uncompromising champion of expansion," at any rate, in certain directions. What will the D.P.I. now say?

> "Farewell to thee France! when Liberty rallies oncemore in thy regions
> Remember me then!"

And our vestal virgins?

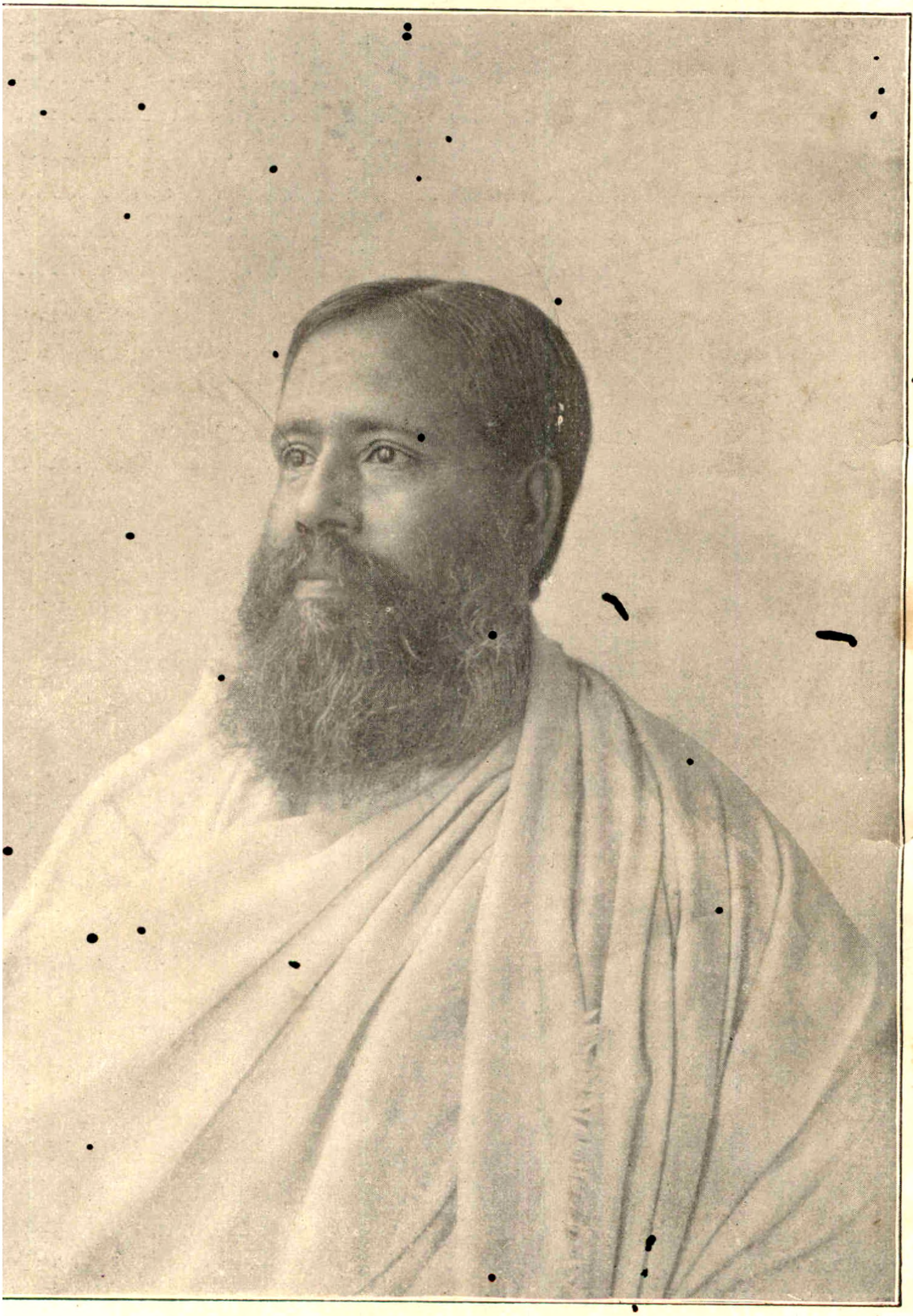
> "Some say no evil thing that walks by night,
> In fog or fire by lake or moorish fen,
> Blue meagre hag, or stubborn unlaid ghost
> That breaks his magic chains, at curfew time
> No goblin, or swarthy faery of the mine
> Hath hurtful power o'er true virginity."

* * *

Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee must have indulged in a guffaw of Sardonic laughter even in high Olympus when he moved a resolution in the Senate making the attendance of lectures in Vernaculars obligatory on the part of the students of the colleges in this University. His resolution was opposed in the fair name of Freedom and Liberty. Crocodile tears were shed over the doctrines of Political Economy and one Senator tilted against overlecturing on the part of teachers and underfeeding on the part of the students in the same breath. Poor Ferdinand and Isabella! They were not the only persons in God's world, who were ardent Catholics at home and rigid Protestants abroad!

> "So my task is smoothly done
> And I can fly or I can run."

"ORPHAN"



Principal Saradaranjan Ray

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW
NOVEMBER, 1925

SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEA

(An Appreciation.)

The loss the country has sustained by the sad death of Sir Surendranath Banerjea is hardly likely to be soon repaired. India is poorer for it. Surveying far and wide the field of leaders of his robust type, his culture and scholarship, his mature experience, his fearless independence, his brilliant eloquence and, above all, his cautious but progressive Liberalism, it is difficult to discover another at this eventful juncture, who might honourably and worthily fill his place.

Those "stars of the first magnitude," as they were called, who from 1880 forward, irradiated the Indian firmament, had, it is grievous to observe, set one after another, leaving Sir Surendranath alone to shine in his glory. But he, too, alas! to the country's great sorrow, passed away three short months ago. Since that melancholy occurrence the firmament of India has presented a bleak and blank appearance, filling all true lovers of the country with deep despair.

Sir Surendranath was almost the very last of that noble band of unselfish patriots who first kindled the torch of reform, political and social; and were able by their exemplary patience and perseverance, prudence and tolerance, far-sighted statesmanship and sobriety of thought and expression to set it aflame in every direction. In truth it was they who laid broad and deep the foundation of what, in the slogan of the hour, is called "nation building." The names of those veteran pioneers are still a household word in the land. Those are inscribed in indelible letters on an everlasting monument. Of such pioneers Sir Surendranath was almost the last to survive, but not the least. He is alas! gone; and it is problematical whether India in the future will see the like of him. It is not the object of this short contribution to refer in any detail whatever to the versatile activities of Sir Surendranath's public life and the many brilliant and epoch-making events which have made it memorable. Those might be profitably learned in that monumental book of his reminiscences which he was luckily spared to publish a few short weeks before he gently passed away from our midst full of years and honours. The purpose of this paper is simply to delineate Sir Surendranath as he struck me so far as I came into close personal contact with him as one of my collaborators from 1887. It is no exaggeration to say that he had made his life "sublime" by his lifework. He has left footprints behind him which some, gifted like him, may follow in years to come. He had carved out a name and fame by his own unaided and indefatigable efforts, his undoubted talents and that indomitable courage with which he marched forward in his path, feeling conscious that in the course of revolving time his countrymen, of all shades of opinion, by slow and measured steps, will reach the *ultima thule* of their most cherished aspirations. He was alive to the prospect of the way being long and wearisome and beset by numerous difficulties of no ordinary character. But his faith was large and unshaken in the ability of his countrymen to eventually surmount them with success. In that unswerving faith he lived and laboured and bravely marched in the van with his trusty colleagues, holding aloft the banner of their creed.

He was of opinion, that given the requisite sagacity and sound judgment, supported by mature experience, there was nothing to obstruct the path of their countrymen to realise their cherished aspirations. Time and patience, consummate tact with leadership of the most unselfish and loftiest ideals only were needed to crown their patriotic labours. In that conviction he lived and died.

But alas! the Reaper cruelly laid his hand on his hoary head just at the very hour when many, who thought like him, considered his need was the sorest.

Prompted by the abiding faith in him, he though advancing in age, bravely put back on his broad shoulders the old armour that in the fulness and ardour of his manhood had won for him and his collaborators many a triumph in the field of peaceful progress under the ægis of the British.

Having made my acquaintance with him for the first time on the occasion of the second session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta (1886), it soon ripened into friendship which lasted till the day of his death. And it so happened that in 1897 we lived together in London in the Hotel Victoria where we had been deputed by our respective Associations, along with the ever-to-be remembered Mr. G. K. Gokhale and Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, the well-known editor of the "Hindu," to give our evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, called into being by the persistent efforts of Sir William Wedderburn and Dadabhoi Naoroji and presided by that able financier, the late Lord Welby. Living there in the closest intimacy with each other we had ample opportunities to exchange views on the future destiny of our country. It was there that I amply realised what a fine, accomplished, virile and lovable personage, and what an invaluable asset for his country was Surendranath. And it was there also that I was able to discover his genuine admiration for the British people and their character. Having lived in the home of constitutional liberty and trained and disciplined fine thought and speech, during the earliest days of his youth when studying for his Civil Service Examination and having drunk deep at the fountain of English literature, and also sojourned there for short periods now and again at the call of his countrymen to represent the Indian view of Indian affairs, it was natural that Sir Surendranath should entertain a lively and genuine affection for the English people. Despite many a deplorable lapse in reference to the governance of this country he believed in their characteristic sense of justice and fairplay. It was similarly the case with Dadabhoi Naoroji who had made London his domicile for the best part of his life. Our G.O.M. was never tired of strongly impressing his own deep conviction of the character of "John Bull" on the minds of the most enlightened of his countrymen in public and private in his relation to the administration of India, on the improvement of which none has hitherto been known to have undergone greater sacrifices during half a century and more of his strenuous life in a spirit of the purest patriotism. Dadabhoy always said that the British were a most cautious and conservative people. They were, too slow, aye, provokingly slow, to take a firm and decisive step forward. But having once taken it there was none to compare with them in doing justice and fairplay and he lived and died entertaining that opinion.

Were it enquired by what traits of character Sir Surendranath would be most remembered by his countrymen, I would say, by his magnetic personality and his brilliant and courageous leadership. He was indeed a born leader of men as was the case with the late distinguished Sir Pherojeshah M. Mehta. In whatever clime and place these two personages might have lived, both would have by their brilliant talents and consummate prudence displayed those qualities which are eminently fitted to lead a people in the right direction. Both never sought greatness. But greatness was spontaneously conferred on them by the united suffrages of millions of their countrymen for their many intrinsic merits and public virtues. And I venture to say that when History is called upon to give her verdict it will be not different.

D. E. WACHA

CHANGES IN METHODS OR TECHNIQUE OF PRODUCTION

Early Industrial Stages.

It is not necessary to trace the history and origin of industry and relate the processes by which economic or industrial activities have been isolated from the other activities of man till the present industrial system and the industrial age have been reached. According to Bucher "the early industrial activities of man were the painting and tattooing of the body, the manufacture of clothing, the devising of personal apparatus for ornamental purposes."[1] The taming of animals was done for amusement and for the worship of the Gods. A host of writers on Anthropology insist on the non-utilitarian origin of early industry. But these would no doubt be coupled with utilitarian activities as hunting, and fighting to satisfy the appetite. From the beginning there has been a curious blend of utilitarian with non-utilitarian motives in all human industrial activities.

The beginnings of purely industrial activities from the utilitarian point of view alone, are to be found in the matriarchal stage of society when the mother, the centre of society, takes to practising the early handicrafts as pottery-making, as well as digging, planting, milling, and other processes of preparing food. Thus women are the first industrial workers of society and "their activities are not only utilitarian in view but are sometimes fused with other motives as sportive, religious, social and political."[2] From this stage where industrial activities are intertwined with other activities society has passed to the pure industrial stage where industry is a roundabout process involving long interval of time between the different stages of industrial production. "The simple organic economy of the primitive man" has given place to the present industrial economy which involves great differences of personality between those who perform the efforts of production and those who realise or enjoy the fruits of those efforts in consumption.

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[1] C. Bucher, "The Industrial Evolution," p. 27.

[2] See J. A. Hobson "Work and Wealth," p. 26.

During the process of this industrial evolution, several milestones in industrial history can be referred to.[1] The four milestones are the domestic stage of production, the handicraft stage of production, the cottage system of production and finally the factory kind of production. The domestic system of production aims to make each household produce the necessities and wants of life by its own labour. Chronologically speaking this is the first system in industrial history but it can be met with even now on a small scale to-day when peasant communities live with very few wants and on the "frontier of modern civilisation." The second stage is the system of the handicraft production. Though the home is the place for industrial production still it is characterised by "custom production." The consumer sets the pace for production and exchanges of one product for another frequently take place. The development of the towns gives the impetus for the transition from the domestic type of production to the handicraft system. With the growth in the means of communication there is an expansion of the market and industrial occupation or manufacturing profession tends to evolve as a distinct phenomenon.[2] The industrial workers engaged in the same trade tend to band themselves into a guild and try to protect their mutual interests. The city authorities tend to regulate these guilds on sound lines so as to bring commercial prosperity to the city.[3] Competition from outside is checked, skill and industrial efficiency secured by a long period of apprenticeship under the master of the craft.[1] Both journeymen and employers live side by side in the same shop. The interests of the consumers also are looked after. The quality of the goods, the standard of labour and skill, hours of work and the fixing of "just price" are looked after by the craft guilds. As capital tends to increase, as the discovery of the New World and explorations of the new countries, the opening of trade with colonies tend to broaden the market, as increased facilities for trade between countries tend to be established the guilds with their restrictive limitations and rules of apprenticeship could not cope with the situation and the entrepreneur arrives on the industrial stage at this critical juncture. "The growth of national as against local political control" gives scope for the development of national economy with legislative interference increasing in importance and frequency. The masters of the crafts who could amass capital realise their opportunity and buying the necessary requisites of production begin to employ labourers. They undertake to sell the finished product themselves to merchants in the towns. This was the actual forerunner to the factory stage and this period of production has been styled the "cottage period" of industry as much of the work is done by workers in cottages, in towns or outside the towns. These cottage workers own the implements or tools of production and usually alternate their industrial work with agriculture.

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[1] See R. H. Lansbury, "Industrial Management," p. 7.

[2] See Professor Ashley, "Introduction to English Economic History and Theory," P. II, pp. 71, 75, 99.

[3] See T. Saalzman, "English Industries in the Middle Ages."

It was "the four great inventions of machinery" that led to a change in the methods of production and resulted in ushering in the factory system of production. All industries tend to improve the machine tools and factories housing these elaborate appliances had to be built. The concentration of workers became inevitable and it has assumed a new importance. The overcrowding of the factories and other evils of the early era of factory production need not be mentioned at this stage. The important change brought about by the factory stage of production is the new economic position of the worker.[1] He has lost his skill, his ownership of the instruments of production, his control over industry and lastly his interest in the product created by him.[2] The capitalists who have already come to the forefront in the financing of the workers in the cottage type of production take early opportunity to build machines and house them in factories and employ workers at their own mill. The labourer's work in the factory can best be described by quoting the graphic description of J. A. Fitch. "Factory workers do not make things. They make parts of things. They do not build ships, construct locomotives, weave cloth, or make watches, or shoes. They punch holes, and fasten bolts; they pound rivets and pull levers. A man stands in front of a punch press and feeds pieces of metal into it. He steps on a trip and the machine punches a hole. He takes that piece and puts another in. On his right are strips of steel to be punched; on his left the finished product. He may or may not know what the ultimate purpose is. He may be helping to make ships that sail the seas or aeroplanes that ride over the clouds but he is a maker neither of ships nor of aeroplanes. He is a maker of holes."[3] Deplorable social results have resulted out of such kind of work. All pioneer industrial countries have experienced acutely the bad results of this economic revolutionary transition from the cottage type to the factory type of production. To relieve the worker from the dull, monotonous and distasteful factory work and secure his material, social and physical welfare recourse is had to state legislation. Trade Unionism and the employers out of humanitarian considerations are tending to remove the concomitant defects incidental to the factory stage of production. But all these do not give the real sense of security which the labourer wishes to have against the material effects of the ordinary contingencies of life.

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[1] See E. A. Lipson, "Introduction to the Economic History of England," pp. 282-284.

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[1] See F. Hodges, "The Nationalisation of Mines," p. 111; see also F. W. Taussing, "Inventions and Money-getters," p. 65.

[2] See Bertrand Russell," Why Men Fight, pp. 145-146.

[3] See "The Causes of Industrial Unrest, p. 372.

Modern Industry is aided by Research and Scientific Knowledge.

Progress in this "industrial economy stage" solely depends on the adoption of the division of labour and consequent specialisation of occupation. In order to understand the changes in the productive methods of a modern industrial life one has to understand the tools that man has forged from time to time to help him in the industrial work. Carlyle says, "the true epic of our times is not arms and the man but tools and the man, an infinitely wider kind of epic." A matter-of-fact economist summarises the different stages of industrial production in the following graphic phrase, "the man and the beast, the man and the tool, and the man and the machine." Our modern economic life solely rests on a mechanical and scientific basis. L. D. Edie says, "the processes of manufacture, the scale of production, the method of transportation, the demand for credit all spring from the state of mechanical and physical sciences. Advances in the sciences determine the amount of wealth available for use the forms which it takes the happiness of men in fitting wealth for consumption, in fact all that goes into the make-up of economic life."[1]

The character of modern industry is depicted to a great extent not solely by the use of extensive machinery alone but scientific knowledge and inventive skill are also playing an important part in securing industrial progress.[2] Friar Bacon was the first individual to foresee the enormous progress that mankind would achieve by the progress of scientific knowledge crystallising itself in inventions which may enable man to harness natural forces to his aid. "The introduction of new inventions seemeth to be the very chief of all human actions. The benefits of new inventions may extend to all mankind universally but the good of all political activities can respect but some particular country of men: these latter do not perdure above a few pages, the former for ever." The scientific technique of production in several industries notably steel, oil, copper, coal, rubber, paint, and ink production, wool, leather and other industries is largely dependent on the discoveries of chemistry. As one writer says, "the science of chemistry has become along with the services of power, of machinery, and of transportation, one of the indispensables in economic organisation." Secretary H. Hoover of the U.S.A. says, "no human person can evaluate the contribution of the science of chemistry to the advancement of civilisation. The enormous advance in standards of living, the greater margins of comfort, the lessening of physical exertion required to attain these things, the relief of suffering, the extension of health and life have all received the most vital contributions by the applied science of chemistry. Moreover our future advancement is indissolubly dependent upon our advance in the twin sciences of chemistry and physics and their application. Indeed with steady accretion of understanding the border lines between the sciences are gradually disappearing. Incidentally the chief job of political and social science is to develop methods of keeping their field in pace with the changes imposed on them by industrial chemistry and physics. Industry and Commerce have grown rapidly in recent years in their appreciation of the fundamental contribution of pure science of both chemistry and physics. The great increase in private research laboratories and the fine support of our public institutions are the mark of this realisation. Discoveries and invention are now no longer the function of the garret genius. They are the result of deliberate organised exploration by our men of pure science. New discoveries and their application will come faster and more securely than ever, and I believe the next half-century will be greater in its triumphs of science, and in their contribution to human welfare than even the last fifty years—for we are better trained, better organised, better equipped for discovery than ever before."[1] The average reader will understand the importance of chemistry if he is aware of the fact that out of a random selection of 250 of present-day trades and professions two hundred and thirty of them rely on some branch or other of chemical technology. The great Dye question of[2] England illustrates the truth of this remark. Though it was a British discovery yet it was Germany that was able to develop it and get to work at once with a large class of properly trained chemical investigators while Britain had no such class available. But even now the situation in England is not much better. The recent Committee on Scientific and Industrial Research says "Our experience up to the present leads us, indeed, to think that the small scale on which most British Industrial Firms have been planned is one of the principal impediments in the way of the organisation of research with a view to the conduct of those long and complicated investigations which are necessary for the solution of the fundamental problems lying at the basis of our staple industries."[3]

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[1] See the "New Principles of Economics," p. 72.

[2] See H. E. Howe, "Industry and Invention," pp. 455-474. "These Even Years."

The possibilities of reducing the cost of production, inventing new goods for satisfying human wants and of increasing the country's output are chiefly bound up with the future of chemical science. This is the cardinal reason why an industrially progressive and forward country like the U.S.A. spends so much on the technological and research side of modern industrial production. "The Federal government has appointed the Bureau of Standards working under the Department of Commerce to maintain close contact with American manufacturers and producers and immensely assist them in the solution of their technological problems. They have also established an excellent liaison with the Universities and Colleges. The staff of the B. of S. consisted of 342 statutory employees and 508 temporary employees engaged in research. The funds granted to the Bureau amounted in 1920 to Dollars 1,729,000. Another noticeable feature is that private associations devote funds to the Bureau to carry on industrial research. The Carnegie Corporation, the Rockfeller Foundation and the Commonwealth Fund have granted large resources for its upkeep and expansion. American industrial efficiency is largely due to the remarkable research work undertaken by the Bureau of Standards and other private manufacturing firms.[1] The American Telegraph and Telephone Company alone employs 1,300 scientists and engineers to devote their time in the laboratories in the advance of research and development of art in the telephone business.

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[1] Quoted from "Industrial Engineering and Chemistry," Sep., 1923.

[2] See "The Elements of Reconstruction,"—Introduction, by Viscount Milner, p. 32.

[3] See Report, p. 25. But small firms can combine for financing research so as to benefit all.

All countries using improved mechanical appliances in the field of production have gained enormously thereby. A given unit of labour becomes more productive and the total output increases correspondingly. The Statistician King says that "in the U.S.A. owing to the use of machinery, the average worker at present produces more than one-half times as much as in 1850.[2] "Their economic progress has been chiefly the result of their engines, scientists, inventors and businessmen." Our future economic progress is closely bound up with the gradual evolution of businessmen who can utilise the technical inventions of her engineers, scientists and inventors.

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[1] See the Bulletin of the National Research Council, U.S.A. The research work of the Bureau is not confined solely to the electrical working industries alone but to coal-tar products, paper, metal industries, photography, pharmaceutical chemistry.

See also the Bulletin of the Department of the Overseas Trade about the Commercial, Industrial and Financial conditions of the U.S.A., p. 135.

[2] See W. I. King, "Wealth and Income of the People of the United States," p. 43.

It is not chemistry and physics alone that serve mankind. Another science which has been brought into the service of mankind is Geology. The discovery of natural resources is its proper field. India's late start in iron, coal, and oil industries is chiefly due to the fact that we have not requisitioned the services of Economic Geology to the help of our economic calculations and the planning of our industries till a very recent time. Geological scientists do not influence the economists alone but even the politicians cannot afford to neglect their findings. The recent scrambling for oil resources on the part of Great Britain, the U.S.A. and France illustrates the importance of their calculations. Political as well economic statesmanship rests on their advice to a certain extent.[1]

Another important science which the industrialists are making use of is the one of applied psychology. This science confines itself to job analysis and is conducting various tests to place the right individual in the right place so that the maximum production might be realised. In the Carnegie Institute psychologists are employed to allocate personnel in the industrial field. The merchants of Pittsburgh are employing psychologists in the placing of individuals in the retail industry. Their clear analysis would enable men and women to find their place quickly in the economic system.

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[1] See Francis Delaisi "The Politics of Oil." Ten years ago France and Great Britain were in exactly the same position as regards petroleum. Each had a few millions invested in distant enterprises; neither had any control over an indispensable fuel. Suddenly it was noticed that a technical invention—the introduction of oil fuel into the furnaces of ships—was about to give the U.S.A. the power to make all other nations its tributaries. At once a few British Statesmen, businessmen and technical experts joined forces. They decided to oust from America the mastery of this new force; They laid their plans in silence and followed them for years with determination; they sank millions of money, carried on intrigue in every corner of the world; they fomented revolutions and accumulated on their own shoulders responsibilities, risks and expenses."

What science can do for man has been best stated by J. A. Thompson and no apology is needed to quote in full his well-reasoned statement. "Science has added to man's senses enabling him to see the pearl in the unopened oyster and locate the bullet buried in the bone. We know how it has enabled him to annihilate distance, so that he can hear from afar the cry of the ships in distress upon the sea or listen at his country fireside to music from a distance. Science has added the depths of the sea and the heights of the air to man's navigable kingdom. It is an often-told story how science has enabled man to tap one reservoir of energy after energy and to do so with increasing economy. The fixation of atmosphere nitrogen has led to the production of fertilisers which means more bread. In the realm of organisms as in the domain of things science is giving man more control. The progress of the science of heredity has supplied levers which can be used with great practical effect in improving both crops and herds. There have been many victories over diseases which seem however to be hydra-headed. The raising of the standard of health is becoming more practicable. In short no one dare set limits to what science may do for man. But just as good-will without knowledge is apt to be warmth without light so science without good-will may mean an increase of knowledge that only increases sorrow when science and good-will join hands with art we call it progress."[1]

The Present Industrial Unit.

In all modern industrial countries say England, Germany, France the aid of scientific research is invoked to enable the entrepreneurs to progress rapidly and reduce the cost of production. The story of these industrial countries "is a story of three things, the machine, the corporation, and the city." The old economic pattern of 1850 to 1860 days is scrapped over and the German model of 1890-1900 is the ideal that has been copied both by America and England.[1]

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[1] "These Eventful Years," p. 448.

The 1920 pattern is not a small hundred-thousand pound concern working on a restricted basis for immediate profit. The excess Profits Duty during and after the war has favoured the amalgamation process in industries. The small concerns are bought up by the bigger ones to evade paying the duty and the capital on which dividends have to be paid, was greatly enlarged. A large syndicated organisation, working on a national scale for larger and remoter ends, is the prevailing feature in several of the industries. Trusts, cartels, pools, combines, conferences and trade agreements of varying potency and stringency are to be seen in all the highly organised industries. Combination instead of competition is the pervading feature in all lines of business,[2] manufacture, transport, banking, and mining enterprises. C. H. Douglas says, "the sphere of activity of the concentration movement has been all-pervading, the coalescing of small business into larger, of shops into huge stores, of villages into towns, of nations into leagues and in every case, is commended to the reason by the plea of economic necessity and efficiency."[3] While this has been the general tendency it must not however be concluded that small businesses have been completely driven out of the field in all organised industries. These not only hold their own but continue to prosper and flourish. The following table shows this fact clearly[4]:

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[1] See Morgan Rees, "Trusts in the British Industry" also the Report of the Committee Trusts (cd. 9236—1919).

[2] See E. J. P. Benn's "The Trade of To-morrow," pp. 79-89.

[3] C. H. Douglas, "Economic Democracy," p. 25.

[4] See Lenin, "Imperialismus," p. 11. See also the Note on the Survival of the Small-scale Industry in Lloyd's Cutlery Trades.

	Year.	Number.	Labour employed.
Establishments employing 20-50 persons worked with mechanical power ...	1911	1,149	37,706
	1921	2,245	72,930
Establishments employing 20-50 persons worked without mechanical power ...	1911	1,171	37,589
	1921	2,750	84,891

Good as well as Evil Results.

Enduring benefit has resulted in some cases out of these giant manufacturing concerns. Sometimes evil results have been reaped, "Business influences are apt to corrupt politics and political influences are apt to corrupt business" say the students of the trust movement.[1] These relate how they control the press and try to mould public opinion in their favour. Mrs. G. Williams is correct in saying that "they form a state within the state exercising great influence on foreign politics." The Manchester Guardian relates how the influence of the American Oil Trust was largely responsible for the break-up of the Genoa Conference. The formation of the trust has not led to the elimination of the strikes on the part of the labourer. Labour is apt to consider them as vast machines which are not amenable to ordinary persuasive influences and strikes are resorted to as the last source for the redress of their grievances.[2] The various experiments of syndicating businesses with controlled establishments, trusts, combines, guild and state socialism have all failed to deal generously with the labourers and their children or to remove the defects and other incidental evils due to small-scale business. All these are more or less in the solution. The state has been trying to control these big business units in a way so as to allow "fair competition" to exist. An attempt is made to develop co-operation among these big units. It is on this principle that anti-trust legislation is passed in the U. S. A. Mere size by itself is not to be condemned but the harmful manner in which it is exerted has to be condemned. Otherwise the economics of large-scale production would be missed altogether.

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[1] See the Influence of the Standard Oil Company on American Politics. This trust has been nick-named the "Octopus" of American business.

[2] See G. Williams, "Social Aspects of Industrial Problems," Ch. II, Sec. II, pp 34-36.

Suggestions are cropping up to make the British Empire a partner in the organised Chemical industry which is proposed to be planned on an Imperial scale. This would enable the undertaking of research, the organising of scientific education, and the discovery of progressive methods of industrial production. It can formulate "big, thorough, efficient, economical and radically beneficial schemes of education, training, selection, direction and research."[1] This is of great significance and the governmental encouragement of large-size business units has to be rightly understood. It is large-scale undertakings alone that will enable the people of a country to make a proper utilisation of the vast resources of the country. This does not mean that small-scale business and industrial units are without their proper value. Dr. Marshall has well illustrated the utility and educative effects of small businesses.[2] Although large-scale business units have to be started still their successful functioning depends on the size of the market and as this is so very restricted in India, there is no scope for the industrialists to rise to the top of the industrial ladder. The absence of State-managed large-scale units only intensifies this difficulty and restricts the scope for the creation of business talent and ability.[3]

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[1] See "The Elements of Reconstruction, p. 40.

[2] Address before the Royal Economic Society, 1908.

[3] *Cf.* Sir T. Morison, "The Industrial Organisation of an Indian Province," p. 186.

The Western Industrial Countries invoke the Aid of Machinery.

The Western countries do not merely count on their manual dexterity, hereditary maxims, or even industrial experience of the past. They aim to produce men of science and intelligent students of chemistry. They strive to invent new machines to supersede stereotyped work. They are ever on the alert to scrap old, inefficient and uneconomical tools and processes of production in their industries. As Crawford says "like language tools are the incarnation of intelligence. They are extra-corporeal limbs or consciously devised extensions of our personality."[1] Thus there is an intimate relationship between the human brain and the tool used by man. The devising of the machine tool itself is a clear indication of the ingenuity of the brain. It is a conscious creative evolution in industrial processes. Rousseau makes the sweeping remark that "it is iron and grain which have civilised man and ruined the human race." This is only a half-truth. Iron or machinery has ruined the race by creating surplus time and goods which have produced all the present-day inequalities. He attributes all the evils of the industrial revolution to the employment of machinery alone. Of course machinery has brought on so many evils in its own train that it is not wholly considered as an unmixed good.

Good and Evil Results of Machinery.

Karl Marx says "machinery considered alone shortens the hours of labour, but when in the service of capital lengthens them, in itself it lightens labour but when employed by capital it heightens the intensity of labour, in itself it is a victory of man over the forces of nature but in the hands of capital makes man the slave of these forces, in itself it increases the wealth of the producers but in the hands of capital makes them paupers. "Mankind ought certainly to expand its intellectual horizon and mental vision and try to counterbalance the social and other evils created by machinery. Factory legislation is trying to insure society against the gross evils incidental to the factory life and the use of machinery. Minimum living wage, old age Pensions, compulsory insurance, Whitley councils, Trade boards, Syndicalism, Guilds, nationalisation and state controls are some of the methods by which the western countries are trying to solve the conflict between capital and labour and secure the contentment of the labourer by replacing the "present, chancy, insecure, distressing, discouraging and publicly wasteful method of employment."

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[1] See O. G. S. Crawford, "Man and His Past."

It is not the social evils alone that have to be combated. Machinery leads to "excessive hours of labour, excessive strain, excessive repetition, excessive speed and excessive specialisation of tasks." Hartley Withers says "machinery has brought to the majority a life of mechanical and monotonous toil with little or none of the pride in a job well done such as was enjoyed by the savage when he made his bow or caught his fish.[1] The specialisation of task is carried too far in the field of international trade and the doctrine of free trade is nothing but preaching the gospel of territorial division of labour, each nation specialising a particular for which it possesses natural facilities or acquired aptitude. But Dr. Bowley has done well in pointing out the ludicrous consequences of this excessive specialisation by making this following unpleasant forecast. "It is not pleasant to contemplate England as one vast factory, an enlarged Manchester, manufacturing in semi-darkness, continual uproar and at an intensive pressure for the rest of the world. Nor would the Continent of America divided into square, numbered fields and cultivated from a central station by electricity, be an ennobling spectacle."[1]

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[1] See Hartley Withers, "International Finance," p. 154.

Machinery has not lightened the labourer's task and the almost daily perfunctory performance of the same work has made them yearn for the close of the working day. Modern pathology and physiology have estimated the fatigue resulting out of factory labour. Any excessive work results in over-fatigue which tends to poison the human organism and leads to industrial accidents.[2] A lowering of the mentality and of the moral resistance necessarily follows the over-worked stage.[3] Drink is resorted to as a nerve stimulus and the "character of the labourers is being undermined by the excessive fatigue. Mr. Cole says that the "modern workshop routine under the present conditions is a dead thing. It does not encourage men to think for themselves or to develop qualities of leadership or of individual initiative. It encourages them merely to get through the daily task in the easiest possible way and to raise such humanity as they possess for their hours of leisure. Worse than that it tends so to crush their individuality that although they expand little or none of it in the factory they have only the most meagre supply for their times of leisure.[4] Thus it is quite evident that machines employed in the large-scale factory have an adverse influence on man and tend to destroy human welfare. The skill of the labourers has disappeared. It has resulted in social cleavage and has antagonised the interests of capital and labour. It tends to wipe off the civilisation from the earth by creating class hatred and injuring the structural organisation of modern society. It tends to become a fruitful source of wars among nations and the very extinction of human culture is threatened to a great extent by the inevitable reaction which machinery exercises over large-scale production. As these harmful consequences have been realised the problem of utilising machinery in such a way as to deprive it of its evil results is being studied closely. Economic progress depends on the utilisation of this machinery in such a way as not to antagonise the real welfare of the labourers or undermine their efficiency. The use of perfect machines, the application of scientific methods and the efficiency of the individual workers alone can secure industrial development. These are the agents that are responsible for the onward march of Germany, the U.S.A., France and G. Britain. Competition with such countries must necessarily depend on our ability to employ similar methods of industrial production.

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[1] See Dr. A. L. Bowley, "England's Foreign Trade in the Nineteenth Century," p. 16.

[2] It is calculated that the highest rate of accidents is during the fourth and fifth hours of the morning work.

[3] *Vide* Goldmarck, "Fatigue and Efficiency," pp. 22-37. See also R. W. Wilson, "The Care of Human Machinery," p. 22.

[4] See G. D. H. Cole, "Labour in the Commonwealth," p, 118.

The Present Conditions in India.

Dr. Fick [1] has shown us that the three characteristics of our corporate industrial life during the Buddhistic period were the heredity of profession, the localisation of the different branches of industry and the institution of aldermen. Kautilya throws much light on the guild organisations which existed in our country.[2] Down to the latest days of the Hindu period trading corporations with a highly developed organisation were distinctive features of our society.[3] During the Mohamedan era the industrial production in the "karkhanas might have been in the aggregate large but individually these Imperial workshops must have been of small dimensions and of too scattered a nature to deserve any notice. Both internal as well as external impediments existed barring the development of an industrial system on a large scale."[1] Coming to the present-day conditions one finds that the capitalist portion of it has under the influence of the foreign capitalists and industrialists, developed a modern and highly organised form. There is large-scale production in these industries. The use of machinery, the carrying out of industrial research on a modest scale, the attempt to increase the efficiency of the labourers by imparting technical skill during the period of apprenticeship and the factory stage of production exist in this class of industries. The following table shows the gradual expansion of large-scale production in these industries.

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[1] See Dr. Fick, " Sociale Gliederung im Nordostlichen Indien Zu Buddha's Ze, pp. 175-183.

[2] See Kautilya's Arthasastra, Dr. R. Shama Sastry's Translation, p. 69.

[3] See Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, 'Corporate Life in Ancient India," pp. 11-96.

	Total No. of Establishments.		No. of Establishments employing 400 persons or more.	
	1911	1921	1911	1921
The growth of special products	911	1,190	553	576
Mines ...	373	588	131	130
Textiles ...	1,265	1,942	231	275
Metal Industries ...	257	500	36	62
Chemical industries	252	450	13	33
Transportation ...	163	261	46	58

So far as cottage industries are concerned we find them in the second stage of industrial production—the man and the tool stage. Some of the most prominent of the cottage industries can be classified under the following dozen headings. Textiles, silk, fibres, dyeing, gold and silverware weaving, tanning, soap and oil, metal work as brass and copper, iron and steelworks, woodwork, stone and building industries, ceramics, food industries, industries of toilet, chemicals and other minor industries. It is true that our cottage industries have not been driven to the wall and completely extinguished.[2]

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[1] See W. H. Moreland, "India at the Death of Akbar."

[2] The Indian Industrial Commission accounts for the survival of the cottage industries. Report, pp. 10-162. See also J. of the Royal Society of Arts, 1905, p. 753.

A defective knowledge of the use of machinery, the use of inferior methods, the lack of flexibility and versatility and obstinate industrial conservatism are producing unwholesome effects on the industrial and commercial progress of our country. Our industrial backwardness is in a large part due to the fact that there has been no improvement in the tools or external limbs utilised in the industrial processes. The machine tool has not been devised nor has there been any widespread adaptation of it till recently and hence the relative industrial backwardness of India. Taking for example the leather industry of the Mochi it is still to a great extent the business of man aided by the hand-tool.[1] Progress cannot be obtained unless there is co-operation between man and the machine-tool. It is not the leather industry that is handicapped by reason of our inability to manufacture and use the right kind of machinery. Prime movers, typewriters, sewing and knitting machines and parts, boilers, mining and electrical machinery for rice, paper, flour, sugar, cotton, jute, and silk, mills and tea factories are not manufactured in this country. Of late agricultural machinery, cutlery, diary appliances, builders' ironmongery, and telegraphic instruments are being manufactured to a small extent.[2] Only recently one factory was established to manufacture jute mill machinery. India possesses only engineering firms capable of producing only machine tools, certain parts, and sections of machinery. Of late the Indian craftsmen are adjusting themselves to the changed conditions of the industry and new mechanical appliances are being utilised. The old and inefficient wooden mills for crushing cane-sugar are being superseded by the cast-iron mills. The oil-extraction industry is using screw presses. Tailors are adapting themselves to the use of sewing machines.

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[1] See the author's monograph on the Economics of the Leather Trade and Industry published in the—*Welfare*, July, 1925, p. 466.

[2] See the Report of the I. I. Commission, pp. 50, 51, 55.

European tools are used by the wood-workers and metal workers.

Objections against the Use of Machinery.

India's industrial future is closely bound up with the increased use of machinery in large-scale industries and mechanical appliances in the case of the cottage industries. An unholy alliance with these "devils" as Mahatma Gandhi would style them is absolutely necessary but "machinery should be used for the benefit of humanity and not its exploitation."[1] He is well aware of the maxim that "machinery considerably increases the wealth of the producers but under capitalism makes them paupers."

Another critic who disparages the use of machinery is the great artist E. B. Havell who opines that all art would be killed by the use of machinery. The Havellites believe that the industrial regeneration of India has two aspects—the economic and the artistic, neither of these two aspects is to be sacrificed.[2] Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami says, "the true regeneration of India is possible only by the means of the revivification of the arts and through the awakening of the artistic sense of the nation."[3] It has become an accepted creed of the Indian economists to argue for the existence of the cottage industries. India need not in all cases adopt the factory stage of industry. The want of information, the lack of suitable training on the part of the artisans and the backward organisation of their business methods are the usual defects of the small entrepreneurs and all of these can be remedied by co-operative organisation. If these are co-operatively organised and helped by the Government in the matter of technical knowledge, research, and marketing facilities they can withstand the competition of the larger units. Suitable motive power to work the cottage industries can be organised in these days of electricity and several of our industries can be worked on the small-scale. This does not mean that machinery would be rendered unnecessary in the large-scale industries as steel, paper, cotton, jute, rice-mills, flour, sugar, silk, and wool.

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[1] M. K. Gandhi, "Indian Home Rule." "Machinery can never accord with the essen ials of Indian civilisation which deserves to be preserved at all costs."

[2] E. B. Havell," Essays on Indian Art, Industry, and Education," p. 67.

[3] See "Essays in National Idealism."

India's Industrial Future.

The days of administrative exploitation of the East India Company have been followed by the attitude of Laissez Faire on the part of the early British Administrators. From the beginning of this century the policy of economic development has been accepted as one of the primary duties of the State and although a set-back in this policy might be noticed now and then there is a concensus of opinion at present as regards the desirability of rapidly industrialising India. A policy of organised technical, administrative and financial help has been recommended by the I. I. Commission and till now they have been faithfully carrying out this accepted recommendation. India's industrial progress, however, depends to a large extent on the understanding of the principles of applied chemistry, physics,[1] biology and close study of foreign languages, commercial geography, economics and psychology for the struggle to recapture the home market or to obtain foreign markets would be keen. The elements of mathematics are required for the nicer statistical calculations which underlie costings, price curves, finance, insurance, and other vital factors in big business operations. Hence a better adaptation to the modern industrial environment is required. Until Indian entrepreneurs respond to the altered conditions of manufacture they can never hope to utilise her vast resources in a paying manner. The Indian Industrial Commission points to the unlimited possibilities of improved agricultural methods by the introduction of the use of power-driven machinery for lifting water from the wells, channels, tanks, and rivers, for irrigation and for other purposes by the introduction of machinery for ploughing, reaping, threshing, and removing crops. That such machines can be utilised on the large-scale farms is a well-known fact. Taking the case of the leather industry the use of improved machinery by the mochis is quite possibie.[1] The utilising of machinery leads to the saving of labour and the lesser cost of production thereby. It increases the scope for the introduction of further subdivision of labour. The machinery will enable the manufacturers to realise the well-known economies and place the goods on the trade cheaper than before and than others who do not use machinery. The quality, quantity and variety of goods manufactured would increase and be improved to a certain extent. This is the resultant progress of the industrialists being armed with the right kind of machinery. This problem of using the right type of machine in several industries is "up" to us more closely than any other people. Finality in the means of industrial production has been the curse of the Indian industrialists in the past. The standard of nations will be determined by improvements in industrial methods of production leading to augmented wealth and an equitable distribution of it among the generality of the people. "The first law of life is to move on, it is the law of motion. The nation that has no further reconstructions to effect, no newer ideals to realise in practice, has completed its work and will disappear before the warfare or the migration of more earnest men."

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[1] Sir J. C. Bose says, the remedy for present economic crisis lies in utilising to the utmost all the available resources of the country which could be done with the help of science. See his Convocation Address to the Patna University, Nov., 1924.

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[1] It is not meant that a wholesale use of machinery can be brought about. The small peasants have neither the means nor do their holdings afford scope enough for their use. As J. MacKenna, says " the instruments should be such as the farmer can himself repair and which the cattle can draw." See Agriculture in India, p. 29.

Indian Conditions are Unfavourable to the Use of Machinery.

Generally speaking the conditions favouring the employment of machinery are not very favourable in our case. Ours is a country where unskilled labour is plentiful and wages are low; capital is scarce and interest high. Hence it would be more economic for the Indian employer to dispense with costly tools and elaborate machinery or reduce their number to the minimum and employ as much labour as possible. The employer always works on the economic principle of utilising each factor of production to the best advantage. This is the organising skill of the entrepreneur which he has to display and he has to be constantly applying the principle of substitution in order to economise the cost of production. Hence Indian entrepreneurs ought to be on the alert to watch the possibility of employing labour-saving machinery under the existing conditions in India, and if they permit they should make use of them on an extensive scale. At any rate unless machinery is resorted to in mining, metal, chemical, paper, food, and drink manufactures[1] and unless skilled labour is recruited to work these machines it is impossible to think of supplying the domestic needs of this country alone.

For the different kind of machines that can profitably be utilised. See the author's book on "The Economics of Leather Industry," 1925, pp. 107-109.

Professor K. T. Shaha estimates the machinery needs of his country as follows:

Agriculture	100	crores of Rs.
Mining and Metallurgy	25	"
Railways	25	"
Other Transport	25	"
Ship-building	50	"
Textiles	25	"
Leather	10	"
Paper	5	"
Oils	5	"
Printing	10	"
Miscellaneous	20	"
Total	100	crores of Rs.

See "Trade, Transport and Tariff," Footnote, p. 146.

India's Inability to manufacture Machinery.

Another remarkable fact relating to machinery is the inability of the Indian people to manufacture them in large quantities to suit our requirements. It is mere lack of faith in Indian workmanship and the inability to fuse their enthusiasm to the right pitch that is chiefly responsible for the inability to manufacture machines in this country. Sir J. C. Bose testifies to the ability of the Indian mechanicians to manufacture such delicate and sensitive instruments that even European instrument-makers have failed to create them even though they had the instruments with them for a long time. Optimism, determined will and the necessary encouragement are the necessary things for our success in any field or undertaking and the Indian mechanicians are not altogether devoid of faculties for discovery and invention. As the Indian Industrial Commission correctly observes: "There is an obvious advantage in the encouragement of the manufacture of machinery in India. But this encouragement should not be given by import duties."[1]

Manufacturing Economy.

As Ranade prophetically remarks "whether we wish or not the transformation of industries is inevitable and we must make the best use of it. Sir M. Visweswarayya has rightly pointed out that we should not run counter to the experience of the world. Sound economic laws are being transgressed and the experience of the foreign countries is being ignored. If Indians do what ten other nations have done they cannot possibly go wrong. India must depend chiefly upon the development of large factory industries for creating wealth. Do the people of India propose to profit by the lessons which the world experts have to teach them or will they be content to allow matters to drift and themselves grow weaker and weaker year by year?" Bertrand Russel remarks that a nation must industrialise itself or allow foreigners to industrialise it.. "When the older industrial nations begin to feel a shortage of coal, iron, oils, they look to undeveloped regions to supplement the deficiency. Before that stage is reached industrial enterprises in new countries begin to be profitable investment for capital. The essence of the matter is that industrially developed nations are stronger than the undeveloped ones, and that they have powerful motives for undertaking themselves the exploitation of unused resources in industrially backward countries, it follows that industrially backward countries must either submit to foreign domination (which inevitably follows economic exploitation) or must develop their own resources. The competition is now with the more advanced races of the west and we cannot tell them what Diogenes said to Alexander "Stand out of my sunshine." Taking into consideration all these facts the economists propose to rapidly industrialise India and develop large-scale organisation with the use of up-to-date machinery and a factory basis for our manufactures. To make India economically self-sufficient industries have to be developed on up-to-date lines and as the evils arising out of the manufacturing economy can be remedied to a certain extent there is no reason why industrial organisation of the modern type should not be developed.

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[1] See the Report of the I. I. Commission, para. 109.

Now that the mighty economic revolution (though slow in its pace) has already commenced to undermine the old order of things it behoves us to note the evils experienced by the pioneer industrial countries. Some of the Western countries which have become completely industrialised are in the deep waters of industrial life. Capitalism, the substitution of money economy for kind economy, commercial spirit, the worship of "the almighty dollar," competition, social regulation and factory production are some of the features of the manufacturing economy stage. Disastrous consequences have resulted. The physical separation between the employer and the employed and the moral separation[1] that followed in its wake have created a spirit of hostility between the capitalists and the labourers. As Mazzini says, "Capital is considered as the despot of labour." [2] Freedom and liberty of the workers are completely lost. The modern giant corporations with octopus-like tentacles have been producing goods solely for the sake of profit.[3] Production for profit has become their watchword. Any method, moral or immoral, is employed to kill competition and stifle the pioneers in production. There is overcapitalisation of industry with a dead load of watered capital. The expected reduction of cost of production has not been realised. The workers have become dissatisfied with their conditions of work. While there has been concentration of wealth in the capitalists' hands the demand for their goods is not increasing and hence the aim has always been to broaden the market by having access to foreign markets. The present industrial system characterised by the guiding motive of production for profit is becoming a sure and certain cause for international rivalry, jealousy, deadlocks, and wars. The general limitation of capitalistic production have been pointed out as "excessive centralisation, nationalism, profiteering, the handling of economic affairs in the name of property rather than in that of human welfare and the inevitable class struggle that has been generated makes it impossible to expand the capitalistic system of production.[4] Hobson says, "The monetary motive of the producers is the sole determining cause of the changes in the nature of the consumables and it is this that is a serious danger to the evolution of a healthy social economy." It is not consumption that sets the pace for production but production that diverts consumption. Hence the production of the articles of "illth" as Ruskin denounces them and the adulteration of all arts to secure greater profit.[1] Production is not co-ordinated with wise consumption and the real well-being of the population is sacrificed on the altar of the capitalistic greed. Thus "capitalism" which is considered as one of the vital planks of the orthodox economists is undergoing an "anatomical operation."

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[1] See Gilman, "A Dividend to Labour," p. 15.

[2] See Mazzini, "The Duties of Man," p. 99.

[3] See Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "Decay of Capitalist Civilisation," p. 119.

[4] See R. H. Tawney, "The Acquisitive Society," p. 43.

The present economic organisation marked by capitalistic production which is prevailing in the western countries aims at the production of wealth and when once it is produced it becomes a stimulus to class conflicts and national wars. Wealth-getting becomes the approved method of national activity. Their anxiety to produce more is "making the country black and tending people to live a short drab life." All this has become inevitable on account of the initial mistake or "misreading of the social values of production." Production for production's sake and wealth-getting is the original sin. Production for use ought to be leading motive and the entrepreneurs should identify their personal interest with social interests and this is the only road that leads to social progress.[2] A better distribution of wealth has to be secured and all people have to be given the social opportunity to display the potential genius lying latent in them. Old age pensions, living wages, nationalisation, profit-sharing, Industrial council, State insurance, State education, trade unionism, and malthusianism have been severally worked out as the remedies for the unfortunate situation of the working classes but these only touch the fringe of the problem. They have all failed to evoke the "creative interest" of the workers in the product manufactured by them. More recently an attempt is made to delegate to them the work of management to their hands and the psychological craving on the part of the labourer to be considered as a factor of equal importance is being satisfied to a certain extent. Of late the labourers in America are trying to demonstrate that capital *per se* is not a matter of vital importance. They are running their own labour banks and instead of waiting to be hired out by the capitalists they propose to turn the tables and hire capital itself.[1] Thus attempts are being made to remove the defects of the capitalistic system of industrial production. Instead of this there must be a new system of production which seeks to produce wealth and consume it for the purpose of the formation of culture which would aim to create social solidarity and international peace. Co-operative production, social service, love of fellowship, are the ideals that are being preached in order to better their system of industrial production. The modern trend of thought is to consider production as a social service and the interests of the capitalists, the labourers, and the consumers have all to be safeguarded. This is the burden of the song that the critics of the capitalistic system have been pointing out.[2]

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[1] See J. A. Hobson, "Work and Wealth," p. 112.

[2] See Leslie Stephen, "Social Rights and Duties," pp. 253-255 (Vol. I).

The Indian people should be alert enough to understand the lessons that the critics of western industrialism wish to impress upon the readers. India is solely agricultural in character and only 10% of her population is engaged in industrial occupations. Now that the industrial life of the western type is being introduced in several lines and worked successfully on a large-scale basis it should be considered as our duty not to allow capitalistic Individualism to run riot as in the western countries and rob the labourers of their due share in the profits of production. A minimum wage has .to be declared in the industrial field and the state ought to enforce it by means of specific cesses on industrial and agricultural incomes. Cottage industries working on a small basis aided with cheap electric power and the crafts limiting the hours of industrial work are no less necessary than the large-scale industries. The cottage industries of the urban localities, the village community's craft industries and the industrial corporations have to find their due place in the industrial life of the country. The evils of industrialism have to be nipped in in the bud. Now that agricultural economy is also approaching to the conditions of manufacturing economy and as the application of energy and machinery are becoming common to both there is an attempt on the part of the Government of India to divert the three thousand years' old agriculture to the scientific channel conducted on the basis of an applied biochemistry and mechanical engineering. However for a long time to come the old agricultural cast to the Indian economy would be retained but when her manufacturing industries and scientific agriculture are being developed every care should be taken by the government, the capitalists, and the labourers themselves to minimise the unpleasant social consequences that would naturally flow from a transition of one economic era to another.

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[1] See the "Author's article entitled the Currency Lessons of the War," published in the Calcutta Review.—Article VII, July 1925, pp. 86-91.

[2] The most important critics of the capitalistic system of industry are S. and B. Webb, "Decay of Capitalistic Civilisation," B. Russell, "Two Prospects of Industrial Civilisation," H. Rathneau, "In Days to Come," Ramsay Muir, "Liberalism and Industry," R. H. Tawney, "The Acquisitive Society," T. Veblen, "The Theory of the Leisure Class," A. E Zimmern, "Nationality and the Government," Sir James Marchant, "The Coming Renaissance," G. H. D. Cole, "Labour in the Commonwealth."

Industrial Reorganisation in England.

As has been remarked already England is bent on slowly "Americanising its industries." America has been extraordinarily successful in her economic endeavour. Her railway system, her educational framework, her prosperous agriculture, her flourishing industries and manufactures, the large output of her industrial workers, the use of improved machinery, the intelligence of her entrepreneurs and the economic policy of her government are primarily responsible for the increasing national production and wealth of the country. America's varied natural resources are successfully exploited by efficient citizens aided to a large extent by a far-sighted policy of wise and energetic action by the governments. The United States have shown the other countries of the world the way to power, material progress and opulence. Unceasing progress and intensive production are the hall-marks of the American industries.[1] America possesses citizens of great constitutional vigour and intelligence with a talent for invention and construction, with political and social freedom, with a good system of education, of mind and of hand, with abundance of wholesome food, and a working day of proper length with vocational and general opportunity free to all.[2] If any nation were to aspire for industrial success the above fundamental elements of industrial efficiency should be acquired in the first instance. "The Americans have solved the problem of economic organisation." By securing efficiency they have increased the prosperity and the general contentment of the masses and have solved to a great extent the industrial and social problems arising in a modern industrial society—such as poverty, unemployment and general unrest which other countries have not solved as yet. The American people have realised that "low production means low consumption, means backwardness and stagnation, means dissatisfaction, indigence or even poverty for the citizens as well as the State." They concentrate their attention, wisdom and energy on production. High production means high consumption, means progress, and advancement for the citizens as well as the State.

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[1] See Dr. A. Marshall, "Industry and Trade," p. 142. All countries which possess rich natural resources and wish to adopt modern ineustrial methods for their development have much to learn from the U. S. A. which more than any other has pioneered the path of new countries though only those of them whose resources are comparable with hers in volume and variety can profit fully by all her experiences.

[2] See J. Ellis Barker, "Economic Statesmanship," p. 137.

The Impossibility of Rapid Industrialisation.

The ambition of manufacturing complex industrial products as in the case of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Germany and Belgium should be set aside as impracticable at the present stage. Our deficiencies in good quality coal, hydro-electric power, large capital, efficient and skilled labourers capable enough to look after machinery, capable technicians, inventors of new processes, bold captains of industry are the real limiting factors which would force us to concentrate on "the simpler forms of manufactured goods."[1] Sir A. Chatterton says that "exaggerated impressions are fostered regarding the natural resources of the country and it is eminently desirable that as soon as possible it should be realised that they are mainly of an agricultural character."[2] But even for working these resources the above deficiencies are acting as a real handicap.

Our Coal Resources.

Coal and iron are the "twin foundations of the modern manufacturing industries and of modern commerce" and are the "principal sources of national power, wealth and population." Coal and Iron are nature's power-house and arsenal, lack of which condemns a nation to stagnation in population and industry, in wealth and power. As Prof. Pigou says, "the iron and steel industry, the engineering industry, certain chemical industries and the industries of iron-mining and coal-mining are of great value to a country for defensive purposes.[1] The following table shows the estimated resources of coal in the different countries of the Continent of Asia.[2]

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[1] See the Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission.

[2] See Sir A. Chatterton, "Industrial Evolution in India," p. 82.

Name of the country.	Tons (000,000 omitted).
China	995,587
Siberia	173,879
India	79,001
Indo-China	20,002
Japan	7,970
Persia	1,858
Manchuria	1,208
Korea	81
Total resources of Asia	1,279,586

The following table shows the coal production of the world in 1921.[3]

Country.	Quantity Ms. of Metric tons.	Percentage of total.
The U.S.A	457	38·0
Germany	169	14·0
United Kingdom	166	13·6
France	29	2·4
Japan	26	2·1
Belgium	22	1·8
India	19·5	1·6
China	19	1·5
Other countries	292·5	24·3
Total	1,200	100

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[1] See A. C. Pigou, "Political Economy of the War," p. 12.

[2] This table is quoted by J. E. Barker in his "Economic Statesmanship"—from a paper read on the coal resources of the world before the Geological Congress held in Canada in 1913—But in 1913 only 12,700,000 tons of coal were dug out in this country and in 1920 it has increased to 22,600,000 tons

[3] Dr. R. K. Das, "Production in India," p. 55.

The following table will show the production of Iron and Steel in India.

Year.	Iron ore 1000 long tons.	Percentage of Increase.
1916	411·8	——
1917	413·3	·3
1918	492·6	19·6
1919	563·7	36·8
1920	588	42·8
1921	942	129·0
1922	625	51·0

Not only is the quantity of coal small, its quality is not of a high order.[1] A high quality coal is of immense use as it yields numerous bye-products as gas, tar, oil, benzol, naphthaline, creosote, ammonia, carbolic acid, toluol, dyes, fertilisers, disinfectants, explosives, valuable drugs, as saccharine, aspirin, phenacetin, antipirin, and a dozen others. In the ancient world cotton was the king and in the modern world coal is the king and its partner is iron. It is true hydro-electric power can be utilised for running modern machinery but our natural resources in these respects have not been sufficiently developed as yet.[2] The increased use of labour-saving machinery and introduction of electric power in the mines is leading to lower cost of production and well-equipped installations for haulage through both inclines and shafts are being adopted. Hence the output of mines would be on the increase and here is an instance of the influence of modern machinery on production. Even if the improved machinery for cutting coal fails to increase the output of coal, steam power based on coal might be displaced by electric energy based on water-power as has been done in America.[1]

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[1] J. C. Brown says, "The demand for coal is so great in India that large quantities have to be imported to supplement the home supplies and it comes mainly from the United Kingdom, South Africa, Australia, and Japan. In normal times India exports coal to Ceylon, to Strait Settlements, Aden, Java and Sumatra.

See "India's Mineral Wealth," Vol. IV, pp. 32-43. India of Today Series.

[2] Prof. Shib Narayan says, "The rainfall and snowfall in India would provide potential energy equivalent to some thousand million kilowatts. "It is estimated that India even granting that intensive industrialisation can take place would not require more than 10,000,000 kilowatts per year. See Hydro-Electric Installations in India.

The one distinguishing feature of the American captains of industry is never to tolerate stagnation in industrial methods.[2] To them the essence of industry is change and progress and they are never satisfied with the methods employed by their grandfathers. They have enlisted the service of science in industry and bid fair to revolutionise the methods of industrial production. It is the lack of such leaders that is responsible for the non-utilisation of our natural power and resources that can be generated out of coal, wood, oil, and alcohol, wind and water.

Not only does India lack such good industrial leaders but the generality of the people look down upon industry with serene contempt. The dignity of labour is being slowly realised by the Indian people and the lack of opportunity for industrial organisation in some cases is also responsible for the oft-quoted shibboleth that the Indian is racially unfit for industrial leadership due to lack of organising ability and initiative. The Indian people specially the higher classes look down on the industrial section of the population with positive contempt. The Manusamhita classifies "all surgeons, goldsmiths, carpenters, vocalists, tailors, dyers, and blacksmiths under the industrial section and as regards the purity of food prepared by them they are classified with perjurors, thieves and adulteresses." This contempt for manual labour is still very strong. The effort of hand is no less dignified than the effort of the brain or the mind. This skill, be it of the hand or the brain, is the "whip" that drives both labour and capital which are the "team" to their proper work and due reward. The mechanism of wealth-production can be likened to the mechanism of the human body; the arms and legs and the different limbs can be compared to skilled labour, raw materials of nature, capital and organisation. If the different limbs refuse to co-operate with each other as in the old story of the revolt of the limbs against the belly, there is atrophy of the body. Similarly if these do not co-operate with each other but consider one another with scorn and disdain there would not be the maximum wealth-production in any society. This is exactly the case with India at present. Until the intelligentsia which should form the skilled labour thoroughly co-operate with the individual labourers guiding their activities there would not be much wealth creation.

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[1] See the Report of the Coal Conservation Committee—appointed by the Ministry of Reconstruction (1917) in Great Britain. See also B. G. De Montogomery, The British and Continental Labour Policy, p. 67.

[2] Even the European capitalists in India are not so progressive. They are content with the use of old and antiquated machinery and they have failed to stimulate invention and develop the creative faculty in the hands of the workers. If we take the example of the Paper industry this can be verified. If we take coal mining it is the same. Though modern machinery is being employed by a few the present-day methods of coal-mining require a lot of improvement.

To ensure a brilliant economic future our richer and more educated classes should feel a great community of thought, action and sympathy and recognise the dignity of the ordinary labourer. A cordial co-operation among all the various ranks of industry and of these labourers with the outside public would create new possibilities for raising them to a higher level. Above all a class of entrepreneurs should arise out of the educated people capable enough to organise industrial business on a successful scale.

Taking the textile industry "which is India's greatest and most typical industry" we find that several improvements would have to be effected in order to enable it to expand and make India a self-sufficing country as regards cotton. Overcapitalisation in some mills is a well-known evil. There has not been sufficient Indianisation of the staff in the mills in spite of their fifty years' standing. They have done little to train ordinary labourers and make them efficient instead of unskilled and ordinary workers. A few of the mills work under agency commission who charge on actual production irrespective of profits or losses. It is true that the Indian Cotton Industry is subject to several handicaps as the cotton excise duty, Japanese competition, high rates of interest in the busy season, high price of raw cotton, lack of credit, and the high exchange conferring an advantage of 12% to foreign importers and heavy coal freights. But several of these can be carefully tackled by competent management. Until this takes place they would not be able to produce the finer kinds of yarn and cloth required in this country. According to A. C. Coubrough India annually consumes foreign piece-goods to the etent of 44 crores. As there is this extensive home market before them they should endeavour their level best to improve their internal management and reduce the overhead charges. They must pay attention towards the problem of securing efficiency on the part of the labourer.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

JAIPUR THE MODERN AND AMBER THE ANCIENT, CAPITALS OF RAJPUTANA

Jaipur may well be called the "Pink City," for some mysterious alchemy of Time has transmuted the once crude and garish colours into a soft rose that blends harmoniously with the surrounding landscape, the buff and madder hills and tawny plain, the turquoise sky of morning, the fugitive radiance of sun-set, the misty amethystine of twilight, the moon-silver and star twinkle of night.

The "City of Victory" was founded in 1728 by the Maharajah Sawai Jai Singh who planned and laid out Jaipur on the sandy plain facing the rugged hills that rise to the East, West and North; and who enclosed it within high masonric walls, gave it the seven gates which are closed to the visitor at nightfall.

Immediately overlooking Jaipur is the Nahargarh, or Tiger Fort, which crowns the barren hills above the town and is silhouetted against the sky, a grim guardian to the peaceful and prosperous dwellers within the gates.

Jaipur is worth visiting, not only for its historical interest, and because it is the largest city in Rajputana, but because it has retained its aspect of mediaeval India, its charm and originality, among the many cities that have succumbed to the intrusion of the West.

Contrary to the plan of the usual Indian town, Jaipur is well laid out with spacious streets, a good arrangement of civic buildings, and has a number of well-ordered industries. The Palace of the Maharajah dominates the centre of the city and covers one-seventh of its area.

The stranger does not immediately arrive at Jaipur, but at one of the indifferent Hotels near the gates; where he drinks "soda pani," partakes of doubtful curries, and vainly endeavours to evade the importunities of vendors of spurious jewels, and the ubiquitous guides who dog his footsteps and make life a burden.

On one's first visit to Jaipur, one is practically forced into accepting the services of his "Guideship," who, aside from a perfunctory recitation of names and dates, only succeeds in marring the perfection of one's first impressions. Having been duly initiated, however, one may thereafter roam at will around the town enjoying a variety of sensations and diversions not to be found in the "mongrel ports" of India's more commonplace cities.

On our first day in Jaipur we witnessed the remarkable "Sila-Satan," or Small-pox Festival, and were entangled in the throngs that had gathered in the Public Gardens outside the town. Sitala (*Mata*), one of the seven sisters who cause disease, was the goddess of the day, to be propitiated with flowers and grain, while her image was set up in processions and shrines. On this occasion an enormous crowd had gathered, clad in the most brilliant of holiday garments. The air was filled with the clamour of music and human voices; snake-charmers; saffron-clad mendicants whining for alms; conjurors; vendors; dancers; and musicians all added their bit to the strident chorus.

We stood on the upper steps of the Museum above the milling crowd, and looked over a human sea of rainbow colours, ourselves the only Europeans present among thousands of Indians. It was a spectacle of barbaric pageantry such as we had never seen before, but in spite of the novelty of the experience, we were rather relieved when some of the guards escorted us to our waiting car and we escaped to the comparative peace of our Caravanserai.

On the long verandas of the Jaipur Hotel we were treated to an "al fresco" performance whose *dramatis personæ* consisted entirely of clever little trained parroquets. From threading a string of small beads to firing a toy cannon, they moved through their paces as letter-perfect as any human, and seemed to enjoy taking part in the little "Tamasha," and to be satisfied with their reward of seeds from the hand of their more avaricious Master.

Continuing our adventuring we arrived at the City gate, open to a stream of bullock carts, and pedestrians, and wended our way among the murmurous and colourful throngs of gaily-dressed Hindus, their garments often arresting to the eye in quaint designs of hand-printed muslins bright with native dyes.

The gaudy colours and profusion of jewellery were the outward expression of the orientalists' emotional love of display, and seemed perfectly natural in the fantastic setting of pink stuccoed houses, many-storied and adorned with overhanging balconies, and having their walls decorated with pictures of gods, men and animals.

The Palace of the Winds resembled a gigantic birth-day cake, rising in nine pink graduated layers to a curved Sarascenic top. This ornate Palace, or Hawa Mahal, was built by Madho Singh the First, and its pretentious architecture seemed a fitting background for the variegated life in the streets below, where the cries of the hawkers, blended with the tinkle of the bullock-bells. The warning call of the Mahouts, drew our attention to the great elephants, who cleared a pathway in the crowd moving along as rhythmically as a sloop on a calm sea, dignified, unhurried, and apparently docile. Upon sighting us, the white strangers, at a word from their riders, the great beasts raised their trunks in a royal "Salaam," and we felt that the welcome of the city had been given us in proper fashion.

En route to the Palace of the Maharajah, we passed the State Stables, where the horses are trained, and on special occasions visitors are treated to a display of expert horsemanship. We visit the Maharajah's tigers and witness their noisy enjoyment of chunks of raw meat, thankful that iron bars protect us from any nearer acquaintance with their powerful claws and mighty roars.

We paused to admire the great tower "Isri Lat," or Minaret Piercing Heaven, built by the Maharaja Isri Singh, the Tripoli Gates, the Square; and other things, but passed on to our main objective, the Palace of the Maharaja of Jaipur.

The residence of His Highness, enclosed within high walls, was built originally by Jai Singh, although there have been many more modern additions to the Palace since his time.

Entering the main gates we enter an outer Courtyard where custodians in gaudy uniforms loiter, and from whence we are admitted to the Inner Courtyard where stands the Divan-I-Khas, or Durbar Hall, used by the public on state and ceremonial occasions. This is a structure of noble simplicity and chiefly attractive for its pure lines of architecture in marked contrast to the more frail-appearing pink stucco of the town buildings.

The *Chandra Mahal*, or Moon Palace, is a seven-storied building built in characteristic Rajputana style, imposing in an Eastern fashion but lacking the dignity of Moghul architecture, and seeming to us rather to border on the tawdry. We of course do not enter the sacred precincts of Royalty, but wander on to the Divan-I-Am, or Audience Hall and thence to the Palace Gardens, where a profusion of tropical ferns, palms, flowers and fountains, please the eye.

In front of the Palace is the famous Hindu Shrine, or Temple of Govindjee, where the image of the God was brought by Jai Singh from Brindaban, and has since become the object of the devotional visits of many pilgrims.

In the Northern end of the Palace Gardens, stands the *Badal Mahal*, or Cloud Palace, and the Tal Katorâ Lake where alligators are still kept, though we hope not for the sinister purpose for which they were once used.

It has been said that in a Native State a man's life is worth less than that of a cow, if the state be a Hindu one; for the Rajah is the absolute power and his word is law. It was so in the old days, and still is, although his limits of authority are perhaps somewhat tempered by the knowledge that, not far away, is "the Residency," a reminder of British Occupation, which may act as a curb on too great an excess of kingly whim.

By far the most interesting spot in Jaipur is the old Astronomical Laboratory of Jai Singh, where in a large open court, one sees a collection of fantastic instruments, designed and built in 1718-1734 by the enterprising old Maharajah, with which it is said accurate observations could be made.

Astronomy was a favourite study with the old Kings, and Jai Singh was the most famous royal astronomer of his day. It would be useless for me to attempt an off-hand description of these instruments, so I will quote from better authorities regarding a few noteworthy ones:

> "The principal instruments are, first on the West, the two circular *Ram Yantras* for reading altitudes and azimuths, with twelve horizontal sectors radiating from a round vertical rod; then east of these the twelve *Rashivalayas* for determining celestial latitudes and longitudes; and next, the great *Samrat Yantra* or gnomon, ninety feet high, situated between two graduated quadrants, with sextants in a chamber beside them.
>
> The gnomon's shadow thrown by the sun touches the west quadrant at 6 A.M. gradually descends this at the rate of thirteen feet per hour till noon, and finally ascends the east quadrant.
>
> To the north of this is a *Dakhina Bhitti Yantra*, or meridional well, near which is a large raised platform known as Jai Singh's seat, and near it are two brass circles, one of which is a map of the Celestial Sphere.
>
> Between these and the *Ram Yantras*, are a number of other instruments known as the *Kranti Yantra*, the *Kapali*, and the *Chakra Yantra*, the last being a graduated brass circle corresponding to the modern equatorial." (*Murray's Hand Book.*)

Jai Singh's observatory is quite the most original spot in Jaipur and one can easily picture the old King experimenting among his great instruments, studying the heavenly bodies, and projecting thoughts, winged by imagination, into the spaces beyond, conjecturing, and dreaming perchance, of other worlds and stars invisible and unknown.

The shops in Jaipur are both show-rooms and factories, where one may watch the artisan fashioning his wares of brass, or silver; gems, ivory, or enamel. Jaipur's chief industries are the manufacture of printed muslins, enamel work, jewellery designs, and cutting garnets in particular. In the street of the Jewellers, one is tempted to purchase many unusual ornaments, necklaces of variegated stones, Indian jade, cornelian, rosaline, lapiz-lazuli and garnet; or to buy chased silver anklets, bracelets, ear-rings, nose-rings or bangles. There is a bewildering variety of beautifully engraved brass and enamel boxes, old filigreed lanterns, vases of all sorts and shapes; lotahs, prized of the Hindu, incense pots; quaint water colours, executed with the minute faithfulness to detail characteristic of Indian painting; and in some dusty corners we unearthed some rare models of old Gods, of uncommon shape. Heavily embroidered garments, decorated with jewels and tarnished braid were exhibited for our enjoyment, and although the prices were prohibitive, we liked to admire the vestments of, perhaps, some long-gone Rajput Noble, whose life of large leisure and luxury, made such ornate costumes suitably in keeping with his time.

The spectacle of Native life is always interesting and fascinating; and in the more humble streets, lined by myriad small shops, we came in contact with a firsthand picture of old India.

Here complacently fat "bannyas" sit cross-legged among their coneshaped piles of "atta," pulse, dahl, maize, and other grains; dispensing their wares with volubility and a meticulous care in the matter of weights for which they use the most primitive of old hand scales, in service these many centuries.

The refreshment stalls quench thirst with insipid coloured drinks ; offer chupatties "hot off the griddle"; serve vegetable and meat curries, rice and dhall, and the fly-encrusted, sweetmeats, of appalling stickiness, that drip with honey and *ghi*. Last, but never least, comes the betel-nut, the eternal cud of the native, to whom the use of "pân" is an ineradicable passion.

No bazaar is complete without its beggars and pariah dogs, outcaste hangers-on of equal repulsiveness, although, we tip the balance in favour of the dogs; for after living some years in India, we grow callous to the unending demands of filthy and diseased mendicants whose presence is a menace and a nuisance in every Indian town.

The scent of the Bazaar,—and who shall describe it ?—is ever the same ; the co-mingled odours of rancid *ghi* and cocoanut oil ; incense, spices, acrid smoke, humanity, and a certain indefinable air that permeates all the crowded lanes, and seems a very part of the atmosphere. We cannot escape it, and we believe that if it were not there we would miss it ; even as we would miss the perpetual caw of the crows, the tinkle of the bullock-bells, the beat of the drum, the whine of the flute and blast of the conch-horn. It is all a part of India and its elements of noise, colour and odour ; and contributes to its individuality, in the composite blend of squalor and opulence ; splendor and tawdriness ; beauty and filth, cruelty and kindness, glamour and clamour and glare. It is the strident note of the children of the sun ; the dominant expression of unrepression and emotionalism, of carelessness and naturalness.

Every day is circus day in Jaipur. Barnum and Bailey never staged a more gorgeous procession than one sees in the daily life of the streets, where on the occasion of our visit, the "Wedding Season" augmented the impression of almost barbaric orientalism. Elephants, caparisoned in brilliant red, yellow and purple habiliments, profusely ornamented with gold and silver ; with Howdahs of gilt and tinsel, moved with stately tread in a succession of bridal processions. Gaudily painted ekkas (carts), whose close drawn tops, insured the privacy of the Purdah ladies within, ambled by, the tinkle of the bells that encircled, together with large turquoise beads, the sturdy necks of the white bullocks, blending musically with the sound of throbbing drum, of pipe, of cymbal and horn. There was an atmosphere of hilarity, of good fellowship, of festive mood in the air. Both man and animals were decked out in holiday garments and all seemed abandoned to the season of *fête* and pleasure. The brilliantly clad throngs moved in a noisy and kaleidoscopic panorama ; officious retainers, in gaudy if somewhat soiled liveries, officiated at passing processions, waved fly-brushes, and called vociferous warnings to the swarms of malodorous humanity that crowded to the Temple doors where a large wedding party was just entering.

As frankly fascinated as small boys at a circus parade, we too followed the crowd and finally worked our way into the Temple court, where we were courteously invited to enter and enjoy. There in the courtyard of the faded old rose Temple, as the copper sun was flaming towards the Western horizon, we saw a " Wedding nautch " danced to the accompaniment of wild music. The splendidly-clad young groom, with a sword of state at his waist, sat in the centre of his male friends and relations and received the gifts which were placed before him. Nearby, his gaily-decked horse awaited to carry him on to the next step in the intricate Hindu ceremony of getting married. There was no bride: she doubtless was going through her part with the women attendants elsewhere, away from the curious eyes of a mixed audience.

Brazen blasts from the long trumpets punctuated the air and the drums beat an incessant tattoo. In all the noise and stir of the late afternoon, the deepening shadows and the fading rose and lilac of the sky reminded us that we were the strangers within the gates, and that we must return for the night to our Caravanserai.

The old city gates closed behind us and we watched the stars come out in the purple sky of night, while the old Fort above the town kept sentinel until another day of adventuring. An air of mystery always hangs about an Indian city at night; romance lurks in darkling corners, and in the narrow lanes, sinister shadows hold vague threats of adventure and danger; behind secretive doors a life unknown to us moves on, for we are the aliens here, and we learn only what India wants us to learn.

From the distance comes to our ears the sound of music, of bell and drum, of flute and horn and cymbal, that accompanies some revel behind the gates whose high silent old walls we cannot penetrate except in imagination.

We kept our visit to Amber as a climax to the days spent at Jaipur, and saved the best for the last. Having dutifully inspected the Museum, the Zoo, the Public Gardens, and various civic buildings, we set our faces towards the old deserted city seven miles out on the tawny barren plains. In Amber we find real India, free from all Western intrusion, peaceful, alone, deserted and dreaming on its wild high hills.

We may recognize the clumsily simulated "old brasses" from Germany or the perishable aniline-dyed cottons and sleazy silks from England, we may feel the discord of the modern imitations and rubbish in the market place; we may see the anachronistic morning-glory horned phonograph silhouetted against the exquisite lace-like frets of a marble screen, or view the collection of hideous modern clocks and cheap ornaments striking a false note in the dignified harmony of some old marble, many-pillared palace; but in Amber there is only a perfection of time and environment, and the brooding sadness of long-gone days of glorious old Rajputana, where in the silent halls the spirit of romance, of poetry, of beauty and chivalry, still lingers.

We ride through Jaipur in the fleeting coolness of late afternoon and leave the city walls by the Zorawar Singh or Northern gate. Down the dusty winding road we glimpse many clustered ruins of temples and dwellings, once gay with life and now eloquent only of the passing of temporal power, and the legacy of something more intangible.

Old Amber was built in the eleventh century and was the capital of Rajputana until 1228; once a city of wealth and prosperity, it now lies forlorn and deserted, peopled by the invisible ghosts of an ancient past.

Even the most casual visitor must feel something of the spirit of dignity, gravely reminiscent of vanished power and glory of the old Rajput Kings that still clings to the atmosphere of Amber.

The deserted old city lies in the mouth of a wild and rocky gorge, the ruined buildings still crowding the little valley and over-flows up the sides of the hills. In the valley is Lake Maota and at the north end is the Dila Ram Garden from which we begin our ascent up the zig-zag path that leads to the Palace entrance.

One usually makes this steep climb on elephant back, but as all the royal animals were taking part in the weddings in Jaipur, we walked to the castle gates.

On three sides of the lower courtyard are the stalls for horses and quarters for attendants, while further down the hill-side are situated the old elephant stables. We ascend a broad flight of stairs to the Palace door and recognize the good old god Ganesh above the lintel, thus establishing the religious identity of the one-time inhabitants of the Castle, for to the Hindu, Ganesh is the God of Good Luck and Wisdom and it is considered propitious to place his image either inside or outside one's home.

In the open courtyard before the entrance are still held "Durga Pujas," and sacrifices to the sanguinary goddess Durga on the occasion of festivals in her honour, when offerings are made at the ancient shrine of Sila Devi. Every day a goat is offered in sacrifice at this shrine, and we interviewed the headsman, or sacrificer, who proudly showed us the great curved sword of state with which he decapitated, at one blow, the hapless victims, destined through the glory of martyrdom, to be changed into a celestial musician at the Court of Indra. The swarth and half-nude executioner further told us, with unconscious if gruesome naiveté, that "he enjoyed his work very much." We think him a blood-thirsty creature, and yet in every Kali Temple in India we find his prototype, who regards his horrid office with pride.

"To-day" goats are sacrificed; "Yesterday," before the British Raj, Kali Ma did not content herself with the offering of mere goats or other animals. Wretched humans were offered to the bloody fetish, similar to Druidistic sacrificial rites, and prehistoric human sacrifice.

Leaving the courtyard, one enters the Divan-I-Am, or great audience Hall, a fine specimen of Rajput architecture built in 1600, by Man Singh, the uncle of Jai Singh. The vaulted roof is supported by forty columns of white marble and sandstone, with curved pediments; the whole effect was said to have been so beautiful as to have aroused the envy of Jehangir, the Moghul King; and that, Jai Singh fearing that this jealousy might result in the room being destroyed, caused the pillars to be covered with stucco.

Rising above on a higher terrace, are the private apartments of the Rajah which one enters through a very fine gateway, ornamented with elaborate sculpture and inlaid with coloured mosaics. Beyond this is another courtyard where many flowers once bloomed and the musical plash of cool fountains mingled with the songs of birds.

A number of palaces surround this court all of which are worthy of a visit as they are all decorated with the mosaics, marbles and carvings of the period.

On the left is the Jai Mahal, or Hall of Victory, which is built of white marble and embellished with arabesqued panels of alabaster, and the high roof is thickly studded with little mirrors. This is a favourite form of decoration in the Palace, and one can imagine how brilliant the effect must have been at night when the lights were reflected in scintillating rays from the spangled domes. In one of the rooms adjoining the Hall is a very interesting stained glass window depicting the favourite god Krishna playing upon his enchanted flute to a group of admiring Gopia. (Celestial milk-maids.)

Another palace, called the Sukh Newas or Hall of Pleasure, is distinctive for some very beautiful windows and a unique system of cooling the air on warm days. Running around the apartment is a channel for water which lowered the temperature at need. The lovely doors of this apartment are made of sandal-wood decorated with inlaid ivory.

Nearby is a room whose walls are covered with quaint paintings illustrating the sacred places of the Hindus; the holy rivers swarm with fish; the temples enshrine many gods; and in the courts scenes there are depicted the administrations of Justice.

The Jas Mandir, is a splendid apartment built by Jai Singh where three rooms are elaborately decorated with glass designs of cypress trees beautifully inlaid, and where slender columns of marble and alabaster thrust up to arches of marble, and through whose graceful windows one may obtain a fine view of the ruins of old Amber and the plains beyond.

There are still more floors to the Palace where one may wander through a series of imposing rooms, all adorned with mosaics, mirrors, marbles and painting, and where the poetry of architecture is expressed in exquisitely curved arches and slender columns of marble.

Most beautiful of all is the Queen's chamber, a place of superlative loveliness, where from the latticed balconies one might fancy that the Ranee and her ladies gazed down from the height of the Palace to the panorama of the city in the gorge, and to the hills and plains that bound their small world.

Nature herself made the strong back-ground for Amber, and on the gigantic stage old Rajputana played its role of pageantry, chivalry and romance; striding bravely through its colourful history of war and love.

Gone now the lordly days of splendour and opulence once so brilliantly embellished with magnificent orientalism.

> "They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
> The Courts where Jamshyd gloried and drank deep,
> And Bahrâm, that great Hunter,—the wild Ass
> Stamps o'er his Head, but cannot break his sleep."

All gone to dust these many centuries, these old Kings and Queens and all their court, and yet their glory still lives on through the ages, eloquent in the silent halls of Amber.

The moon casts a ghostly light over the old castle and we leave it alone to its dreams and memories, ourselves stirred to a feeling of wistful sadness that it must be so.

> "The worldly hope men set their hearts upon,
> Turns Ashes, or it prospers; and anon
> Like snow upon the Desert's dusty face,
> Lighting a little hour or two—is gone."

LILY STRICKLAND ANDERSON

THE CIRCLET [1]

O Lady, when your tall lamps shine,
  Your silver lamps of rosy hue,
You bid me drink the yellow wine
  And sing another song to you.

Of all the songs I ever sang,
  I'll sing thee one whose ancient runes,
Upon my lute-strings softly hang
  —An echo sighed through vanished moons:

"They say in *Vishnu's* golden Hall
  Are carven circlets wildly fair,
Which as they earthward whirling fall
  Divide within our lesser air.

"To him *Nirvana* spreads her shore
  Who gains the severed counterpart;
The *Karma* of his life is o'er
  —The Hour it lies within his heart.

"And so, I seek a broken Ring,
  Wherein is laid my Destiny,
As land to land I wand'ring sing,
  And praise whatever gods there be.

"And so, I seek an unknown face,
  As Shrine to Shrine I wander far—
A minstrel void of rank or race
  And praise whichever gods there are.

"And Lady, in thy tinted wine,
  I pledge thee from my singing soul,
The silver stars may on thee shine
  —The Hour *thy Karma* makes thee whole."

MIRIEM KHUNDKAR

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[1] Hindu Mythology has it, the gods form a circlet, half man and half woman, which they sever in twain and send down to Earth where their Destiny is not complete, till they seeking reunite one with the other again.

THE VOW OF LUVE

(*Following the ring of Burns's "The Red, Red Rose."*)

Dialogue and Chorus.

I

Krishna—

"My luve fo' Radha's like the rose that blooms sae fine
on tree;
My luve's like, yea,—the mellow tune, that's sweetly
play'd by me.

Radha—

"Thy luve! O, Krishna fause like Thee,—
It fades and passeth soon;
Sae ilka niht i' mickle wise
It changeth wi' the Moon."

Krishna—

"Ay, nae,—My bonnie winsome lass! My words I couldna'
tell,—
Sae deep in luve am I, my sweet,—there's nane I luve
sae well!"

II

Radha—

"Ah, my braw and bonnie lad, thy wily wise I ken,—
Thou'lt win my luve and gang adrift to rove in wood and
glen.
Ay, dark thy visage, fause thy heart;
I wat,—I ai'nt sae bauld
To tryst thy trickie sport of luve,—
Thy wit o' frolic auld!

But altho' black thu' art, and fause,—sae deep i' luve am
I,—
I'll luve but Thee, my winsome lad, till a' the seas gang
dry!"

III

Krishna—

"Ah, my charming lassie dear, thu' canna' see my mind,
Of all the maids in Gokul's grove, like Thee I winna find.
Tho' Dark my visage,—True my Heart!
I this maun say sae bauld,
My depth o' luve will never wash
In Jumna's water cauld!
Tho' Fair thu' art, my bonnie lass, sae deep i' luve am I;
I'll luve Thee still, my dearie dear, till a' the seas gang
dry!"

IV

Krishna and Rādha (Chorus)—

"Sae true Thu' art and guid my luve, to Thee i'
luve rin I,—
I'll luve Thee till the end o' Time,—till all the seas gang
dry:
Till all the seas gang dry, my luve,
And the rocks melt wi' the Sun:
And I will luve Thee still my dear,
While the sands o' life shall run.
Ay, e'en when Life is o'er, my dear,—on still Etern'ty's
Shore,
In Vow of Luve, entwin'd we'll cling, tho' the Seas ha'e
ceas'd to roar!"

SURES C. GHATAK

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES UNDER THE CALIPHATE[1]

If, now, we turn to that branch of learning wherein philosophy and natural science came into close contact, the philosophical views of the Arabs may thus be summarized. In the material world minerals constitute the lowest stage ; next comes the plant ; then the animal ; then man. Higher than man are pure, spiritual beings, the angels—beyond whom there is naught but God. Thus a continuous progressive chain binds the lowest to the highest. But, pursuing an inner impulse, the human soul strives to break away from the physical plane, and, ridding itself of it, rises aloft, to revert to God, whence it has come.

These and similar ideas—showing striking kinship with Neo-Platonic philosophy—found wide diffusion in the later mystical schools, and were reconciled with the Qur'an and the revealed religion by allegorical interpretations, more or less forced.

While a ladder of ascending development united the lowest to the highest, the theory of cosmogony—the beginning of things—shows a descending scale. For the origin of the world reliance was apparently placed upon the emanation—theory of the Alexandrian philosophy. Following is the graduated scale : Creator, Reason, World-Soul, and Primordial Substance. From the union of the World-soul with Primordial Substance, everything has arisen—the realm of Existence showing a two-fold aspect : a material, corporeal aspect—(perceivable by the sense-organs), and a spiritual aspect—conceivable only by reason. The material and the spiritual worlds thus correspond to the dualism of body and soul.

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[1] Calcutta Review, October, 1925.

The sharp division between mind and body naturally suggested enquiry into the activities of the thinking mind. The Aristotelian writings on logic, especially Porphyry's Introduction, were chosen as the basis for this enquiry, and were enthusiastically studied. Pre-occupation with logic soon became an absorbing passion with Arab thinkers. The artificial classification of the process of thinking—the intellectual exercise of distinguishing truth from fallacies—exactly suited their mind, only too prone to subtleties. All eminent men—Kindi, Farabi, Avicenna—passionately took to logic. Avicenna, indeed, struck many a new vein in it. Logic became an indispensable preliminary to all higher studies, and many treatises and handbooks were written on that subject—Aristotle being the chief inspiring influence.

While reason was thus trained; while the path in which it was to move was rigidly marked out; while the faculty of judgment was controlled, and the wheel of thinking machinery was regulated, Metaphysics—or, as the Arabs literally translate the Greek term, the science that lies beyond nature—became the theatre of riotous fancy. There was no embargo on thought. Every one was at liberty to think what he would and say what he thought. The majority—possessing neither the capacity nor the time nor the inclination to think for themselves—walked complacently and unquestioningly in the path of orthodoxy. But this notwithstanding, there grew up numerous theological sects and parties, with sharply divergent views.

Speculating on the soul—its purity, its purpose, its admission into the material and spiritual joys of paradise, its eventual re-absorption in the World-Soul, in God—innumerable questions of ethics and morals presented themselves, forming gradually a special, comprehensive literature of their own.

When, under the first Abbasids, the Arabs became familiar with Greek philosophy, and applied themselves to the study of the natural sciences, a new ferment was introduced into the intellectual movements of the day.

Logic sharpened the weapon of polemics—sound human understanding challenged blind faith. Proofs based on mathematics vanquished those drawn from the Qur'an, and the study of the natural sciences opposed the stubborn ignorance of theology.

Amid these circumstances arose the first Rationalistic School, whose supporters—the Mutazalites—were dominant for some time. But soon their opponents also learned the use of those very weapons which the Mutazalites had handled with such skill. The result was Scholasticism—a veritable religious philosophy—which served the cause of orthodoxy and defended dogmatism. But, despite the orthodox reaction, a limited circle persisted in their devotion to philosophical pursuits. They not only studied the learning of the ancients, but even strove to go beyond it. They made independent researches, and sought to reconcile the results with the prevailing religious system of the day.

We should not refuse to Arab philosophy the compliment of recognizing it as being distinguished by a fearless rationalism and a lofty moral purity. Thus the poet Ma'arri[1] says:

"Do good, and do it for its beauty, and think not of any reward from God for it. It rests with him to reward when it pleases him; for great is his power. If not, our best reward is death." And in another passage he says: "Do good—always for its own sake; and be just, *not* for any prospect of gain."

And thus does Averroes express himself: "Amongst the most dangerous of ideas we must reckon that which regards virtue as a means of attaining happiness. In such a case virtue has *no* value; for, then, abstention from vice is only in the hope of being recompensed with rich interest. The brave will only seek death to escape a greater evil; and the just only respect the property of another to receive later twice as much.

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[1] He had heard lectures by philosophers at Baghdad, and was inclined towards materialism.

These views, says Averroes, "permeate the entire mental attitude of the people—particularly of children. They do not, in any way, tend to their improvement. I know," he adds, "men of impeccable morality who reject these views, yet who stand in no way behind those who accept them."

Only by spiritual purification—according to these old moralists—could the soul soar back to the World-Soul—out of which it has come—union with it being the supremest end of humanity. They regarded the human soul as an emanation from the highest World-Soul—pervading the entire spiritual life. According to their view, the soul was nothing but a drop of the divine spirit. Thus says Hajjaj Ibn Yakzan:—"The spirit of life which permeates all humanity is one and the same, and is not different in individuals, except that it is divided into so many souls. If we gather together these divided parts and put them all into one vessel, the constituent elements will form but one single whole. They are not unlike water or other liquid distributed amongst a number of separate vessels. Both separate and united, they are one and the same substance.[1]

These pantheistic views, coming to the Arabs from the Alexandrians, were steadily developed by them in their philosophic schools.

Next to the theory of the original unity of souls, the most important teaching of Arab philosophy was that the world was uncreated and eternal. The champions of this view were the *Dhaherites.*[2] They came into violent conflict with the Orthodox; for they relied upon the evidence of the senses, and denied the existence of the spiritual world.

The fundamental doctrines of these old-time materialists were precisely the same as those of that school to-day. But, because of their ignorance of the natural sciences, as compared with what is known now, these doctrines had a more extended influence—a wider sway.

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[1] Risalat Hajjaj Ibn Yakzan, p. 74.

[2] Goldziher's valuable monograph on the '*Dhaherites*' is authoritative on the subject.

We cannot fail to notice a similarity between Orient and Occident in the course of philosophical studies. Both in the East and the West these studies encountered an implacable foe—an all-powerful priesthood. That foe quickly decided that such a form of intellectual activity was a serious menace to unquestioning faith. It therefore set its face against it. Under Mutawakkil the orthodox reaction against the Mutazalites triumphed, and its triumph meant the enslavement of free-thought. Henceforth temporal power ranged itself on the side of orthodoxy, and forged, again and again, stern measures against philosophical studies. Next to Mutawakkil, Mutadid made himself conspicuous by hisfiery zeal for orthodoxy. In the year 279 A. H. (892 A. D.) he forbade the sale of philosophic and polemical books.[1] Then came the fanatical Qadir, with a formal edict of proscription against heretics and free-thinkers.[2]

If, now, we glance backward, we shall find that the greatest achievements of the Arabs were in the empirical sciences. With incredible industry they observed, they investigated, they collected, they arranged the results of their own experiences, or those of their forerunners.

In narration and description they shone. History and geography,[3] therefore, take the first place in their literature. As acute observers and thinkers, however, they achieved great distinction in mathematics and astronomy. They also built up an elaborate system of law and a science of language. But in the realms of the mind—in abstract thinking—they never went beyond Aristotle and Plato, or, if they did so venture, they were led, by an unbridled imagination, into dreamings and illusions, ending in empty mysticism.

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[1] Dhahabi, *Ibar*.

[2] Von Kremer, *Gesch. d. herrsch. Ideen*, p. 127. Later they simply consigned to the flames books which antagonised Orthodoxy. It will be interesting to look at the measures adopted against heresy in Christendom. "The code of Justinian contained some sixty enactments against heresy. It also recognized the burning of Manichees, thus giving some sort of legal precedent for the sporadic outbursts of mob violence that had occurred during the XIth and XIIth centuries. Philip Augustus, who burnt a few heretics as enemies of society, was clearly influenced by Roman precedent. Even Pedro of Aragon in his ferocious enactment of 1197 probably knew that he was following the policy of a Christian emperor." Maycock, *Inquisition*, *Nineteenth Cent.*, Sept.. 1925, p. 472. For Manichees, see Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees*, Cambridge University Press, 1925.

[3] Chapter III of Wright's *Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* contains an illuminating account of Muslim Geography. On p. 392 we are told that Ptolemy's *Geography* was translated into Arabic at least three times: (1) by Ibn Khurdadbah not

It remains to speak of general literature and of the later development of the science of language. To this we shall add an account of the learned institutions, and with it close our present survey.

As against realistic studies, the science of language was given an unjustifiable pre-eminence by the Arabs. The reason for this must be sought in its close affinity with Qur'anic studies and theological pre-occupations connected therewith. The systematic study of their own language, therefore, was carried on with a consuming passion. Such was the case even in the first century of Islam! Later, the Arabicised foreigners devoted themselves to this branch of learning with marked fervour, for to some extent, it was regarded in the light of a religious duty, inasmuch as through such studies alone could the Qur'an and the traditions be guarded against faulty reading and wrong interpretations.

Wonderful must have been the love and enthusiasm of the first grammarians for their subject! It is related of one that his collection, consisting chiefly of phrases and expressions in vogue among the Beduins of the desert, filled up his room to the roof. With great zeal even Pre-Islamite poetry and poetical fragments were collected, and Asma'i reports of the same scholar that, during the ten years that he worked under him, he never heard aught but Pre-Islamite poetry in support of a grammatical rule.[1]

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earlier than about 846-847 A.D. but for private use only; (2) by Yaqub ibn Ishaq al-Kindi, before 874 A.D. and (3) by Thabit ibn Qurra (826-901 A.D.) On Moslem methods of determining latitude, see p. 395, note 36. For a general review of Arabic Geography in the Middle Ages, see Schoy, *Geography of the Moslems*, 1924.

[1] In Hamasa (p. 382) will be found the rest of his poetical remains.

To this school—called the School of Basra—belonged the most celebrated authority on Arabic grammar—Sibwaiyh. Up to the latest times, his grammar held its position as an accepted standard grammar of the Arabic language.

While, with Sibwaiyh, the School of Basra reached its splendour, the School of Kufa did not lag behind. But the striking fact to note is that, like Basra, the leaders of the School of Kufa, too, were of Persian descent.

Kisai was a Persian by birth. Despite his great authority slighting is the report regarding him that comes from Basra. It charges him with fraud and imposture. In this connexion we must not overlook the fact that most of the grammarians cultivated this branch of learning as a means of livelihood, and thus they vied with each other in artificial hair-splitting differences and the recognized tricks of the trade.

We have before us the evidence of a contemporary author which clearly shows the spirit in which many of these grammarians carried on their work to earn money. Asked by a friend why it was that his works were not written in an intelligent style, the much renowned Akhfash replied : "I do not write my books for the love of God, as a pious work. If I were to make myself always intelligible, my readers would have no use for me. My object merely is to gain gold. I, therefore, write *something* in an easy, intelligible style which the reader understands. This makes him curious to find out what he does not understand, and thus I earn money, which is my end-all and be-all."

Later, indeed, literary fraud assumed numerous shapes. But, to do no injustice to the honest Akhfash, we must add that, *even* before him, a grammarian of Basra (Khalaf, the red, who lived about 155 A.H.) occupied himself with poetical forgeries. Imitating the language of the ancient poets, he passed off his own poetical effusions as theirs, and introduced them, as such, into his collection.[1]

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[1] Flügel, *Grammatische Schulen der Araber*, p. 32.

Most wearisome and uninspiring are the writings of these old grammarians, but at least they have some compensating merits. They founded lexicography, by explaining rare words in the Qur'an and the traditions, and by collecting passages in support of their exposition. They first set up the system of metrics; they made the first collection of the old popular songs and commented upon them, and, with amazing industry, gathered together proverbs, and addressed themselves to etymology.

Later, when special store was set on florid diction and shining rhetoric, different kinds of style were evolved (Ilm-ul-Badi, Al-mani-wal-Bayan, Al-insha, etc., etc.). All this gave rise to that branch of learning which was called "Ilm-ul-Adab"—the "Humanities."

Just as, with Europeans, classical study formed the foundation of the "Humanities," so, with the Arabs, did the study of the old poets.

This line of study led to numerous works of importance in literature. Incessant, unwearying, was their activity in collecting and arranging words and phrases. All this was but a prelude to great works on lexicography which were to follow.

But the predominance of the "Humanities" over realistic studies marks the era of decline. Special stress was laid on grammatical technicalities—on acquaintance with poetical literature. To shine in this kind of lore, miscellaneous collections were made (Nawadir, Mudhaherat, Mudhamerat), wherein information without order or method was set down.[1]

Thus a literary proletariat, untroubled about the future, grew up. Young men of letters, without means, living upon their wits and poetry, roamed from town to town and village to village. Wherever there was a gathering of literary dilettanti they were ready for linguistic battles over words. The rich and powerful always hastened to them with their help and gifts, for, in that age these dilettanti were dangerous as enemies; since, with the dreaded weapon of satire in their hands, they could, at a stroke, imperil a reputation or ruin a name.

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[1] For instance, *Kitabul'Aghani.*

At worst they could always take up their residence in the mosque[1]. The best representative of this class, whom Hariri so faithfully describes, is that very Hamadani whom he himself accepted as his model for the *Maqamah*[2]. Early in his youth he left his native town and wandered about in Islamic countries. From his letters it seems that he betook himself to the East—to Naisabur, Merv, Herat—where, in the *Wazir* of the powerful Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, he found a warm patron, and at last secured a comfortable home. He himself tells us how he travelled to Naisabur, to make the acquaintance of the then famous poet and man-of-letters there—Abu Bakr Chowarizimy. Let us hear him in his own words: "When I entered Khorasan, I decided upon Naisabur as the goal of my journey. I did not care to have any neighbours other than the noble sons of Naisabur. There I wanted to lift the saddle from my camel—there I wanted to pitch my tent—for long ago had I heard of that very learned Abu Bakr whose acquaintance I was keen to make, and on whom I had, unseen bestowed my affection. I had imagined that on entering the town he would at once cast off the shell from his kernel—that he would hasten to greet me in all friendliness—that he would be at once emotional and demonstrative, for the tie of literary achievements united us, strangers though we were. But I was deceived, disappointed. He showed a very different spirit and attitude—the reason being that on our journey the Beduins had robbed us—had rifled our packages—had divested us of our gold and silver; and thus, on reaching Naisabur, our hands were emptier than a wall—our purses drier than sand—our clothes more tattered than the mantle of a schoolmaster—in fact worse still.

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[1] Jhya, III, 489. (2) He died in 398 A. H=1007-8 A. D. at Herat.

Out of modesty I did not force myself upon him. I only desired his neighbourhood—to see his door-sill and to depart. Early in the morning I wrote a letter to him, full of praises and flowery diction; and all that I got in return was mere sediment from his wine-cask; but I forgave him, and told him to do what he thought best. I went up to him, but be tried to avoid me, and yet I put the best complexion upon his behaviour. I drank from the goblet he offered me—bitter though the draught was. I accepted the mantle which he presented me—small and insufficient though it was. I ascribed his behaviour to the wretchedness of my condition, and to the rents in my garment, and I wrote, once again, as follows, to gain his friendship and to conquer his stubborn disposition.

"In the name of Allah, the merciful, the compassionate. The very noble Abu Bakr,—may God lengthen his days!—makes the position of his guest very difficult. He does many things which are slighting and hurtful. He half closes his eyes and blinks, and, with a motion of his hand, prevents people from rising from their seats when I enter the room. He swallows half his words, and his salutation consists of a mere shrug of his shoulders. But I took it all indulgently, for a man is estimated, *by* the weight of his purse and the elegance of his dress, though with me coarse and torn was my garment. If Abu Bakr only had the experience of a roaming, wandering life, he would have listened to the stranger—lifted the saddle from his camel—revived his waning strength with his generous hospitality. Let the noble Abu Bakr treat these taunts as he pleases. The letter is, indeed, prompted by friendly feelings and its bitter contents are mixed with honey."

His reply, as you may well imagine, was cold and cutting. Avoiding all further contact I allowed him to continue in his conceit—wiping out all remembrance of him from my mind. Thus did a month pass away—whilst that noble soul continually made remarks which were carried to me. Then I took up my pen and spoke my mind. Thereupon he collected a whole army of students and servants, and came along in full force to the house of the leader of the prayer—Abdul Tayyub—where the meeting was to take place. I also went there in the hopes of reconciliation, and thanked him for coming, but it was lightning without rain—a mirage of the desert without blessing—for he made no advances towards me, and it seemed as if he literally intended to demonstrate the truth of the couplet :

> " I am for standing aloof and apart;
> for that is the one thing most
> Suited to us both."

And when the dust in the arena had subsided, he watched to see whether I had come to the fray on horseback or on a donkey. Lo, the question, then, was—Which of us two would claw the other first and throw the other to the ground ? By jokes the mediators tried to ease the situation. But I said to myself "He who comes to the arena and fancies himself invulnerable is not quite in his right senses, for in me he has an antagonist of a fierce kind who pierces and breaks and crushes his opponent." Then a saying of the Prophet came to my mind :

> " Peace is preferable, and, when the
> Other retreats cease to fight."

I then quoted a poem.

> " Accept peace and be content with the
> Honours of war—naught but fright thou hast had."

But he thought I was deceiving him, and took me as if I was saying: Enough !

Once more an attempt at reconciliation was made. It was Abu Ali who tried it. He had taken it upon himself to do it; and, when he asked me, I answered as I thought he wished me to answer. I said: " I am eager for a meeting. It is exactly what I want."

The clumsy fellow at last came in insolent defiance, surrounded by a crowd. We glanced at them, and by heaven, we thought he was anxious to destroy a hostile army or to cause a massacre. But when we saw them with big paunches and shaven heads, we realized that it was all show, and that there was no cause for alarm. I rose to receive him, and he took his seat on the *divan*. I let his anger exhaust itself and the arrows of his vexation pass out of his quiver. I then spoke to him.

"O! you, beloved of God—quieten your spirit—master your fear—control your impulse and restrain yourself—dance not without the accompaniment of flute—emit no spark without cause or compulsion—for when we invited you it was in the belief that you would instruct us—therefore let only your horse run the race—let us know your intellectual powers and intellectual worth."

"What do you mean by that?" said he, and I replied: "Let us see the strength of your memory, or let us enter into competition in poetry or in prose, or, if you prefer it, we shall hit upon improvisation." He accepted the last proposal, and I suggested a poem of Mutannabbi as a model :

> Awake night after night
> Ah ! who can keep awake like me !
> The streaming eyes merely
> Stir the smouldering passion within.

Abu Bakr forthwith began :

> When I begin my improvisation
> Thee I see ablaze in anger.
> As I go on polishing my verses
> Grief I see surging in thee.
> When I compose, I compose swiftly
> But composition with thee is only slow and clumsy.

With these lines inspiration failed him, and the chain of composition suddenly stopped. I then began without fear.

Slowly, friend, to battle thou camest with blunt sword.
Sheathe it again, before thou provokest laughter.
Words fail thee, but from me they unceasingly gush
forth.
Heavy the blow I deal,
Ever I keep myself within the bounds of courtesy.

"Even in the hardest thing I have said, I have shown consideration to thy good name."

Shame on thee O fool !
The fire that thou hast kindled hath only scorched thee.

When the fire of these verses scorched and dazed him he grew angry, and, in his anger, he began to fight over trifles. The bystanders realized that he was losing the battle and cheered me. This so completely rattled him that he forgot all the rules of courtesy and showered abuse upon me. But I remained silent, to bring home to the assembly my self-control and my spirit of forbearance.

The duel between the ready-tongued Hamadani and his opponent (which we have considerably abridged in our free translation) continued for some time, ending in a shameful discomfiture of the latter. It offers a good insight into the literary activities of the age, and shows us the errors into which a people so wonderfully gifted as the Arabs eventually fell. They possessed wit, genius, fertility, resourcefulness, dexterity in prose and verse, and, in addition, a powerful memory which retained all the most excellent things in literature and manipulated them at will.

But, despite all these gifts which scholars and savants need, all higher strivings perished, frittered away in literary contests such as the one we have described between Hamadani and Abu Bakr. Hamadani and Hariri's witty and intellectual *causeries* are the last flickers of the Arab intellect.

We cannot close our sketch of the literary and scientific achievements of the Arabs without mentioning that at an early date, they possessed a considerable literature dealing with arts and crafts in their most diverse branches. Thus there was a special literature on weapons and implements used in warfare; on fire-works and war-machines;[1] on falconry and hunting; on poisons and spices; on jewels and precious stones; on metals; on magic, interpretation of dreams, jugglery,[2] and so forth.

A minute discussion on this subject would be fruitless here, for very few of these writings have come down to us, and the subject itself appealed only to a narrow circle, and was of fleeting importance. Moreover, it never was crowned with a halo of erudition.

Early, too, there arose a considerable literature on music and song. Songs were collected, the tunes noted, and even methodically arranged. Even music was scientifically studied, and following the example of the Greeks, great importance was attached to that study.[3]

Having already dealt with poetical literature, we must now pass on to a consideration of the literature of fables and romances.

The collection of "A Thousand and One Nights" is well known. It has long been established that that charming collection is based upon Persian and Indian models. It alone suffices to give us a correct idea of the literature of romance. This literature of romance began at the court of the Omayyads, but, under the Abbasids, among prosperous townfolk of Baghdad, the taste for such literary fare became keen and widespread. At first special delight was found in the Indian fables of animals, which writers hastened to imitate in Arabic. This was followed by imaginary and romantic stories. The origin of the story of

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[1] Fihrist, 314, 315.

[2] The best book on jugglery is the *Book of Jaubery* exhaustively dealt with by De Goeje in the Z. D. M. G.

[3] For further information, see Kosegarten: *Ali Ispahanensis liber cantilenarum magnus, Griefswalde*, 1840. J.R.A.S., Jan., 1925, pp. 61-80.

Sindbad, the sailor, is to be sought at Basra. Having begun, this literature soon assumed an immense bulk. But, apart from the earlier part of the "Thousand and One Nights," nothing has come down to us from the glorious days of the Caliphate.

According to my view the great Antar romance originated in the days of the Crusades. Nor can the romance of Dhul-Himma and Saif-ul-Yazan [1] be dated earlier. The origin of the History of Banu Hilal should also be set down to about the same period.[2] From such beginnings arose the historical romance—wherein historical events were romantically treated—as, for instance, in the history of the first conquests, by the so-called pseudo-Waqidi, or the history of the Fatimide Caliph Hakim.[3]

Some of these works—Antar, Dhul-Himma, Banu Hilal—even to-day enjoy a great popularity, and are, in the real sense of the term, books of the people.

It will require much time and labour to give to this fascinating branch of Arabic literature the same thorough attention and treatment as we have bestowed on Arab history and geography.

Literary and scientific activity soon resulted in the formation of small societies of scholars and scientists. Such a coterie we have already come to know—the broadminded, progressive club of Basra. A work has come down to us which is apparently the production of such an association of learned and industrious men. I mean the so-called *Treatises of the Brethren of Purity*—a collection of learned and scientific papers embracing the *then* entire philosophy and sciences.[1]

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[1] J.R.A.S., July, 1925, p. 537. "The romance of Saif-ul-Yazan is mentioned by Lane as one of the stock pieces in the repertory of the professional Cairene story-tellers. Saif, the Yamanite prince who, towards the close of the sixth century A.D., delivered his country from the Abyssinian yoke, is here transformed into a Muslim paladin. This romance though worthless as literature, is a rich mine for students of folk-lore. Herr Paret (*Sirat Saif ibn Dhiyazan: Ein Arabischer Volksroman*) assigns it tentatively to the fifteenth century. The main argument in favour of this date is the antagonism, running through the whole romance, between the Muslim Arabs, typified by Saif, and the Negroes and Abyssinians who are represented by his opponent, king Saif Arad."

[2] Banu Hilal is that Beduin tribe which, in the middle of the XIth century A. D., burst into Africa from Egypt. This event, poetically adorned, was worked into an extensive romance. Von Kremer, *Gesch. der herrsch. Ideen Islamas*, p. 401. Ibn Khaldun, *General History*, VI, 18.

[3] The Imperial Library of Vienna possesses a volume of this work.

But, apart from private societies of congenial souls, mosques specially were the centres not merely of religious but of learned activities. They served the purpose of the first academies and schools. People gathered there to discuss not merely learned but also political questions. There sat one or other professor on a rush-mat, or a small rug, on the floor, leaning against a column which supported the roof, around him a circle of listeners, friends, acquaintances. Nay, such a sight may even now be seen in the mosques of the large towns of the East. In this fashion are lectures delivered to this day in the chief mosque of Cairo. When a text is explained, the book lies on a reading-stand before the professor. He either himself reads the text, and explains it orally, or lets one of his pupils read it, while he himself explains as the reading goes on. Of old many of these professors had large audiences. The instruction was absolutely free. Only in primary schools (Kuttab) —where children were taught reading and writing, and which were purely private institutions—did the teachers, who maintained them as a means of livelihood, charge a fee. Then, not only strictly theological studies, but also philological studies, closely connected with them, were carried on in the mosques. Even certain philosophical and mathematical studies were included in the syllabus.

But special institutions—the so-called Madrassahs or academies—soon came into being. The reason for their creation is to be sought, not in the fact that the mosques had become too small for the increasing number of students, or that such an increase interfered with their original character as Houses of Worship, but in the growth of a class of men—devoted to learned studies—who bitterly experienced, as is experienced still, the difficulty of earning a living through abstract learning.

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[1] Prof. Dieterici has undertaken the laborious task of doing them into German. "The Brothers of piety and sincerity " made some noteworthy contributions to the science of geographical meteorology, but these were not passed on to the Western world. They understood, among other phenomena, the warming of the atmosphere by radiation from the earth's surface and its connection with the angle of incidence of the sun's rays the influence of mountains upon precipitation; and the origin of springs and rivers. (Hellmann, *Denkmäler*, 1904, pp. (18) 23—41). Apud Wright's *Geographical Lore of the time of the Crusades*, p. 395.

To insure a competence for such men, and to put them in a position to carry on, unharassed, their particular line of study—as also to help those that needed help in their studies—the beautiful practice of founding Madrassahs came into vogue. In 383 A. H. (993 A. D.) the first institution of this kind was established in Baghdad.[1] Another followed in the year 400 A. H. (1009-10 A. D.) at Naisabur. Rapidly their number multiplied, with the result that all great towns soon possessed them. To found a Madrassah was regarded as a pious, meritorious act. Not only were Madrassahs founded but they were also endowed with the necessary funds for their up-keep, for the pay of their professors, and for scholarships to students. Often, indeed, did the professors and the students receive free board and lodging. To the travelling scholars specially did the Madrassahs offer a secure shelter and a warm welcome. A chapel and a library invariably formed part of the Madrassah.

Noticeable was the Madrassah for its external appearance. It was usually built of hewn stones. On the door was the dedication-inscription carved on stone. The interior chiefly consisted of a prayer-hall, in front of which stood an open courtyard. In the midst of that was a large raised reservoir, and round this courtyard—invariably surrounded by arcades—extended the out-houses, consisting of small rooms which opened into the courtyard. Other rooms were used as lecture-rooms or as libraries.

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[1] *Ibn Athir*, IX-71. According to Suyuti: *Husnul-Muhadherah*, II, 141. Nizam-ul-Mulk, the first minister of Arslan, was the founder of the first Madrassah in Baghdad in 457 A. H.

The Madrassahs of Cairo mostly have on the upper storey, an open hall, with double circular arched windows resting on a pillar constructed in the centre. Such a loggia is called *Manzara*, and this style of building seems to have been common in Baghdad.

From the fourth century onward such colleges were founded everywhere. A liberal encouragement and support were extended to the literary proletariat and the travelling scholar. Thus the indigent scholar, wandering in pursuit of learning, was always sure there of free board and lodging. Not only were theological studies carried on in the Madrassahs, but, in large towns, such as Damascus, Cairo and Baghdad, there were also Madrassahs where medicine was taught, and in Baghdad there was one where a specialist lectured on Arab philology.[1]

A reporter—not altogether trustworthy—tells us that Walid I was the founder of the first hospital.[2] But, as a matter of fact, hospitals came early into existence in Baghdad. Under Muqtadir a Christian physician—Sinan Ibn Thabit—held the post of Director of Hospitals in Baghdad. The very same Caliph (in the year 306 A. H., 918-9 A. D.) founded a new hospital on a grand scale, which cost him 200 dinars a month.[3] He also introduced a system of compulsory examination of physicians by the above-mentioned Director of Hospitals. Only such as passed this examination[4] were given the license to practise. The Buyyid Sultans, too, founded hospitals in their capital.[5] Nor did other towns remain without them.[6] At all these institutions medical studies were pursued.

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[1] The philologist Jawaliki held this post.

[2] Thalabi, Lata'if, p. 13.

[3] *Cf.* Taghribardy, II, 203.

[4] Ibn Usaiba, Fol. 133.

[5] Ibn Athir, IX, 12. See, Ibn Khallikan, Vol. II, note 2, p. 45. For the hospital built by Adad-ud-Dowlah, See Ibn Khallikan, Vol. II, p. 481.

[6] Makrizi, Khittat, 405.

For the promotion of astronomical studies observatories were established. Thus, Mamun founded an observatory at Baghdad, while a private observatory there bore the name of the family of Banu' Alam. At Rakka, on the Syrian frontier, stood another, and, in Cairo, yet another, built by the Caliph Hakim.[1]

We now pass on to libraries. In 381 A. H. (Ibn Athir, IX, 246), the first public library is said to have been established in Baghdad. But, even earlier than this, Mamun had founded a learned academy (*House of Wisdom*) which possessed a large collection of books. This example was followed by a Fatimid Caliph who also founded a *House of Learning* (Dar-al-Ilm) in Cairo.[2] Immediately before its destruction by the Mogals, Baghdad possessed no less than thirty-six libraries (Reinaud : *Intro. á la Geogr. d' Aboulfeda*, CXL, 11). That in other Muslim towns, too, there was no lack of libraries, the information regarding the libraries at Merv abundantly proves.

Maqdasi—an Arab traveller, whose acquaintance we have already made—relates that he found a library at Ramharmuz which was different only in one respect from that of Basra, namely, that the latter had a richer collection.

The librarian at Rámharmuz, he reports, was a scholar who, in addition to his duties, delivered lectures on the Mutazalite system of philosophy. In Shiraz he found yet another great library in a palace which had been built by a Buyyid prince. He describes the edifice as one of the most extensive and exquisite architectural achievements of that age. He speaks of the library thus : " The library occupies a special portion of the building. It has a director, a librarian, a superintendent—officers chosen from the *élite* of the town. The founder has provided the library with books of all kinds. The great hall is in a huge *Suffah* (*i.e.*, a platform walled up on three sides). Shelves are let in into the walls on every side of the hall. In length they are of human height; in breadth three yards. They are painted and ornamented with gold. The books are arranged cross-ways on the shelves one over another. Each subject has its own shelf, and every shelf its own catalogue, where the books are minutely described. Only decent people have admission to the library.[1]

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[1] Fawat, II, 189, in the biography of Narisuddin Tusi.

[2] Makrizi, Khittat, 458. Khuda Bukhsh, *Politics in Islam*, p. 227.

Not only did scholars study in the libraries, but, it seems, they were also used as lively meeting-places for men of culture and refinement, where learned discussions and debates took place.

In his *Muqamah* Hariri describes a scene, in the library of the little town of Hulwan, where Abu Zaid, the peripatetic *littérateur*, finding a reader turning over the pages of the poetical collection of Abu Ubaida, uses the opportunity for a display of his talents in improvisation.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

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[1] Dr. Sprenger is of opinion that the Fihrist is a catalogue of one such library.

THE ARTHASASTRA OF KAUTILYA AND THE NITI-SASTRA OF SUKRA—A POLITICAL STUDY

III

The Arthasastra and the Nitisastra do not profess to be theories of state and hence no systematic account is to be found about the origin of the state. In one place[1] the origin of kingship and hence that of the state is said to be the result of popular election[2]—the people preferring to pay the king in the shape of taxes in return for protection from *Matsya-nyaya, i.e.*, anarchy. But evidently this is not the opinion of Kautilya, because the relevant passage is put in the mouth of one spy replying to another. As regards the origin of kingship Sukra says that the ruler has been made by *Brahma* a *servant* of the people getting his revenue as remuneration. Here the origin of the institution of kingship is placed at the door of Brahma. How can we explain this silence in Kautilya and the short explanation of Sukra as regards the origin of the state or for the matter of that, the origin of kingship? The explanation lies in the fact that to both Kautilya and Sukra the state is a natural institution—natural in the sense that it exists from the very dawn of human society. Since the state is ingrained in the human nature, it needs no explanation as to its origin historically. The fact that the ruler has been made by Brahma (as Sukra says) means that the institution of kingship and hence that of state exists from the beginning. Sukraic conception of the ends and aims of the state is essentially secular and this theological explanation of its origin is not really theological[3] but to emphasize the fact that rudiments of political control are to be met with in the very dawn of history.[1]

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[1] *Artha*, Bk. I, Ch. 13.

[2] Both the *Mahabharat* and the *Dighanikaya* contain such accounts.

[3] This theological origin loses much of its theological character when in the very same breath Sukra makes the king 'a servant of the people.' Again the fact is to be noted that Sukra makes a distinction between a good and a bad king—the former being a *nara-devata*. Also hints at deposition are given in some places.

Just as the origin of life is shrouded in mystery, so the origin of the state has up till now eluded the search of political theorists, sociologists and anthropologists. Modern scientists can at best explain the origin of this by that, or they can resolve a compound into its constituent elements, but they will have to postulate the existence of a First cause; otherwise they will tend to move in a circle. Probably this is the reason why the institution of kingship in its rudimentary form has been laid at Brahma's door by our author,—meaning thereby, that the state or the king is one of the first creations of Brahma, the creator.[2]

From another standpoint the concept of kingship is one of those postulates of thought without which everything is confusion. Virtue, progress, duty, morality and religion are all dependent on the institution of kingship. The establishment of *Varnasramadharma* can be thought of only where there is a king, because "through fear of punishment meted out by the king, each man gets into the habit of following his own *dharma*."[3] 'The subjects become virtuous, do not commit aggressions, and do not speak untruths only because there is the king to wield the rod of punishment. Even the cruel become mild, the wicked give up wickedness, even beasts become subdued, the thieves get frightened, the garrulous become dumb, the enemies are terrified and become tributaries, and others are demoralised.'[4] And last of all *Danda* or rather the *Dandadhara* is the foundation or stay of virtues.[1] Thus we come to the conclusion that the very conception of human society—not to speak of social progress[2]—is impossible without the first postulate of kingship. The logical contradictory of the state is anarchy, *i.e.*, *pralaya.*

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[1] Recent researches in savage life tend to confirm this statement.

[2] "Among the Greeks the state was considered as an institution existing in itself and of itself and as determined by the very nature of things. As such it had a divine origin, as did all things in the phenomenal world." Willoughby, *Nature of the State*, pp. 43; also—"the conception of the state as natural and therefore indirectly divine," *ibid*, pp. 44.

[3] *Sukra, Ch.* I, lines 45-7, for a similar idea see Arthasastra, end of Bk. I, *Ch.* 4.

[4] *Sukra, Ch.* IV, Sec. 1, lines 92-98, for a similar idea see *Santiparva*, Sec. 15.

Reference has just been made to the fact that to both Kautilya and Sukra the state is a natural institution. By the term "natural" it should not be understood that the evolution of the state and the consequences and results thereof are of natural growth, *i.e.*, human effort has nothing to do with it. Far from it. It is said by Sukra[3] that "the king is the cause of the setting on foot of the customs, usages and movements and hence is the cause or maker of time (*i.e.*, the creator of epochs)" and again "the king is the cause of the prosperity of this world,"[4] and "the faults are to be ascribed neither to the age nor to the subjects but to the king."[5] Kautilya also says that the progress of the world depends on dandaniti.[6] Now this is an intensely modern conception. The doctrine that the future is not in the lap of gods but is amenable to human control, that man can control his own destiny,[7] that there is no such thing as Fate—all these things are clearly put forward as preliminaries to the proposition that the king is the maker of the age.[8] What is popularly known as *Daiva* or Fate is nothing but the work of man in previous births. Kautilya seems to assume all these propositions but does not set forth their philosophic background by enunciating the doctrine of *Purusakara.* Now this conception of politics coupled with the doctrine of the "open future" comes with natural grace from both Kautilya and Sukra. Kautilya by his own exertions helped Chandra Gupta to found an extensive empire by overthrowing the Nanda dynasty.[1] Sukra is the preceptor of *Asuras,* the traditional enemies of the gods and hence he cannot possibly be accused of any sympathy with Daiva or Fate.[2]

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[1] *Sukra, ibid,* lines 101-2.

[2] *Artha,* Bk. I, *Ch.* 4.

[3] *Ch.* 1, lines 43-44.

[4] *Ch* I, lines 127-28.

[5] *Ch.* IV, Sec. 1, lines 116-7.

[6] Bk. I, *Ch.* 4.

[7] *Sukra, Ch.* I, lines 73-4.

[8] With these principles before us the theological background in *Sukra-niti* (origin of kingship) fades away.

~~With~~ this emphasis on the doctrine of *Purusakara* we may naturally pass on to the category of kingship—since it is the king who is *Paurusa* personified and who by wielding the *Danda* helps the *purusakara* or creative intelligence of man to manifest itself.

IV

Both Kautilya and Sukra proceed on the assumption that sovereignty necessarily belongs to kings; they never stop to discuss the comparative merits of monarchy, aristocracy or democracy. Kautilya at least was cognisant of the possibility of democratic forms of government when he says that sovereignty may be the property of a clan;[3] but more than that is to be met with in the Arthasastra when we refer to the eleventh Book where the names of some republics are mentioned which had existence in history.[4] The treatment of the subject of *Gana* is exceedingly scanty—the subject is treated not by itself, but as an incident in the foreign policy of the *vijigisu* king. Though the comparative merits of the different forms of government are not discussed by Kautilya yet he concedes that the "corporation of clans is invincible in its nature and being free from the calamities of anarchy can have a permanent existence on earth."[1] No doubt both Kautilya and Sukra treat of monarchy as the emblem of sovereignty; but that does not mean that there are no checks to the exercise of royal power.[2] Both the treatises assume ministry as an essential adjunct to the system of monarchy propounded by Kautilya and Sukra. The *raison-d'être* of ministry is that a 'single wheel can never move.'[3] Other checks to autocracy may be found in the established duties of the four *varnas* and the four *asramas* and also in the local customs of the country—however obnoxious they might seem. The king is not the creator of *varna-dharma* and *asrama-dharma*—he merely upholds the observance thereof. Even Kautilya and Sukra—however radically secular they might appear—cannot avoid making the socio-religious institution of *varnasrama*—an essential substructure in their plan of treatment. People following such obnoxious customs as eating beef, marrying the widows of their brothers are not to be condemned by the king[4]—a definite hint about the supremacy of customs. Both Kautilya and Sukra do not like Narada[5] or Calvin[6] say that oppressive and worthless kings are to be obeyed without a murmur: hints are given by Kautilya that impoverished and disaffected subjects voluntarily destroy their own master.[7] Sukra cannot tolerate a king who does not listen to the counsels of his ministers[8]—to him an autocratic king is a 'thief in the form of a ruler.' Other hints at deposition are given in some more places.[1]

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[1] This fact is mentioned by Kautilya at the end of his book.

[2] *Artha,* Bk. VI, *Ch.* I, 257. This apotheosis of *Paurusa* or human effort is sufficient to meet the charges of some writers who would sigmatize Hindu political thought as theological and metaphysical—for in Sukra the ruler is *paurusa* personified, since in him lies the power to create a *Satya* or a *Kali Yuga.* On this point see Benoy Sarkar's *Pos. Background of Hindu Sociology,* Bk. II, Part I, pp. 31-2. On the secular character of Hindu politics see my article in the *Calcutta Review,* March, 1925.

[3] Bk. 1, Ch. 17. Shamasastri in a footnote to the English Translation says—"A clear proof of the existence of republican or oligarchical forms of government in ancient India"—a clear proof of the existence of confusion between theorizing and fact.

[4] A detailed treatment of this subject is to be found in Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity.*

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[1] Bk. 1, Ch. 17.

[2] On this subject see the writer's article in the *Modern Review*, October, 1924.

[3] *Artha.*, Bk. I, Ch. 7; see also *Sukra*, Ch. II, lines 1-8.

[4] *Sukra*, Ch. IV, Sec. 5, lines 94-101.

[5] S. B. E., XVIII, 22.

[6] *Calvin's* Institutes, Bk. IV, Ch. XX. Para., 25. See Dunning, *Pol. Theories* (From Luther), pp. 29.

[7] *Artha*, Bk. VII, Ch. 5; Bk. I, Ch. 10, Bk. VI, Ch. I.

[8] Ch. II, lines 515-16.

The point to be noticed in this connection is that neither Kautilya nor Sukra invests the subjects with any *right* to depose or kill a tyrant. Students of politics familiar with the *Vindicicae contra Tyrannos*[2] or Buchanan's '*On the Sovereign Power among the Scots*'[3] or with the Spanish Jesuit Mariana's advocacy of tyrannicide will be surprised not to find, either in Kautilya or in Sukra, any theory about the rights of the people. The explanation is three-fold. Firstly, both the books are written—and the Arthasastra in particular—from the standpoint of the governor and not the governed. Therefore the 'governed' class do not fall within the scope of the books and as such the treatment of the so-called rights, or for the matter of that, duties of the subjects is dispensed with. Secondly, neither Kautilya nor Sukra pretends to expound a theory of the State. Had our authors first of all set to themselves the task of formulating a reasonable theory of the State—the first problem for which they would have been seeking a solution would have been the problem of king *vs.* subjects. Free self-determination of action is an essential attribute of man—but how are we to harmonize this fact with another fact—*viz.*, the subjection of human groups to a coercive control by a king—the *governor*. When discussing this universal problem our authors would have discussed whether any actual or theoretical limit should have been placed upon the powers of the king in enforcing his will—for otherwise why should free self-determining beings acquiesce in being coerced. In other words, they would have discussed the problems of right—natural or legal,—in all its aspects. Lastly, the outlook of Hindu writers on Arthasastra, Niti-sastra and so on is swayed by the theory of *Swa-dharma.*[1] It means that every man in society has a group of duties—special to his *position.* To the Hindus the phenomenon of social order is the resultant of duties. Hence the problem of the rights of the people has not been treated directly, but indirectly the same objective has almost been gained by enumerating the duties of the kings. In fact this is why politics in the *Santiparva* is known as *Raja-dharma.* Rights and duties are nothing but the same thing looked at from two opposite points of view.[2] Thus the right of a citizen not to pay oppressive taxes can be converted into the duty of a king not to tax his subjects overmuch. And the Hindu writer on politics—be it secular or theological—prefers to put his statements in the garb of duties.[3]

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[1] Ch. 1, lines 277-8, 279-80, Ch. II, lines 5-8, Ch. IV, Sec. 7, lines 826-29.

[2] See Dunning, *Pol. Theories* (From Luther).

[3] We may recall here Sukra's doctrine of '*Purusakara*. It is this theory which establishes freedom of will and makes man a 'moral' being by holding him and none else responsible for his actions.

We have just now seen that the concept of rights has not been attained either by Kautilya or by Sukra, but none the less their idea of kingship is not an unfettered tyranny—and this is possible because of their, and more especially of Sukra's, emphasis on duty.[4]

V

Advocates of the theory of divine origin of kings might find an ally in Sukra, merely on the basis of some texts in the first chapter.[1] In one place it is said that "the king is made by Brahma, a servant of the people" and in another connection it is put forward that the king has been made out of the "permanent elements of Indra, Vayu, Yama, Sun, Fire, Varuna, Moon and Kuvera." Our contention is, that the divine origin as put forward by Sukra is seemingly divine and in substantiating our case we give the following five arguments. Firstly, the texts should be read as part of the whole treatise which is predominantly positive and secular. Secondly, the statement, that the king has been made by Brahma, a servant of the people, means, as explained beforehand, that the origin of kingship is co-eval with creation and hence can be laid at Brahma's door. Moreover if divine origin should be thought of, it passes our comprehension why the former statement should be watered down by the following statement, *viz.*, servant of the people.[2] Thirdly, the statement about the king being made out of the permanent elements of the eight gods is merely metaphorical and is nothing but a catalogue of the functions and duties of the kings conveniently and metaphorically expressed so as to appeal to the popular imagination.[3]

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[1] This theory of *Swa-dharma* is to be found in Plato's *Republic* where three distinct classes with separate duties are assumed in his ideal state. Bradley also speaks of *Swa-dharma* and argues "that fulfilment of *station* is a good enough practical canon of morality." Barker, *Pol. Thought from Spencer*, p. 65. (Compare the Hindu saying—Death in the performance of one's own duty of *dharma* is preferable to a mode of life where one has to perform duties which should be performed by others.) Something of the same nature is implied by Bosanquet when he speaks of "Position" (*Philosophical Theory of the State*, Ch. 8, pp. 205-7). And kingship is a high "Position" or "Station."

[2] For a discussion about the nature of rights and obligations see Bosanquet, *Phil. Theory of the State*, Ch. 8.

[3] "The fact remains that in the political thought of Greece the notion of the individual is not prominent, and the *conception of rights seems hardly to have been attained.*" Barker, *Greek Pol. Theory*, p. 7; see also Wilde's *Ethical Basis of the State*, pp. 813-14, where the *duty* of free speech is emphasized and also the quotation from Plato's *Apology*, 31.

[4] "It is unimportant in theory whether a system of law starts with a consideration of rights or of duties."—Holland, *Jurisprudence*, p. 88. In early Roman law the idea of

Fourthly, if the theory of divine origin be accepted, we fail to see why Sukra should be so insistent on drawing a distinction between good and bad kings and should say that a virtuous king is a part of the gods, while a king who is otherwise is a part of the demons.[4] Not content with saying this

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duty was much more prominent than that of right. Till 1868 the Japanese seem to have possessed no word for legal right. See the footnote in Holland's *Jurisprudence*, p. 86.

[1] Lines 141-3, 375.

[2] Here again the concept of duty is prominent. This service to the people consists in protection which is his primary duty. Sovereignty is not a right to be claimed because of divine origin but a matter of duty imposed by Brahma (if we accept Brahmaic origin). This will be evident if we refer to line 375, Ch. I.

[3] This will be explained later on when we deal with the functions and duties of the king and the state.

[4] Ch. I, lines 139-40.

he threatens such a king with the condition of lower animals or hell[2] and kings with divine origin going to hell, well—that is an incongruity, to say the least of it. Lastly, the threat of deposition[3] to kings who are oppressive, points to the fact that kingship is a human and not a divine institution. That kingship is not divine is further evident from the fact that when an oppressive king has been expelled, "in his place for the maintenance of the state, the priest with the consent of the *Prakriti* should instal one who belongs to his family and qualified."[4] Kautilya also assumes the human origin of kingship as will be evident if we refer to the chapter[5] where purity or impurity in the character of ministers is tested by various kinds of temptations.

Thus though the king in Sukra and Kautilya is a human being, yet no harder and more exacting life can be conceived of than that of a ruler. Both Kautilya[6] and Sukra[7] have been, in this respect, dominated by the most exacting standard and they have drawn up detailed timetables of work for the king.[8]

While dealing with this point it should be noticed that both Sukra and Kautilya have not cared to distinguish private duties from public duties. It is possible that in the eyes of both the king is always a public person: whatever he does has got a public interest.

VI

From this we may pass on to discuss the duties and functions of the king and the state. The public functions

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[1] Ch. I, lines 64-8.

[2] Ch. I, line 63; line 171.

[3] The threat of deposition is not clothed in the garb of a *right* of the people bu the relevant statements are expressed as matters of fact.

[4] Ch, II, lines 551-2.

[5] Bk. I, Ch. 10.

[6] Bk. I, Ch. 19.

[7] Ch. I, lines 551-569.

[8] Yagnabalkya also has got a similar exacting time-table.

or duties of the king are also the duties and functions of the state, since the king is the "head" or the brain of the state. The functions of the king have been very succinctly and beautifully described by Sukra in some passages[1] which have been referred to in connection with the so-called divine origin of kingship. We have just now seen that the king, according to Sukra, is made out of the permanent elements of eight gods. This is but another way of saying that the functions of the king represent the sum-total of the distinctive functions of the eight gods, *viz.*, Indra, Vayu, Yama, Sun, Fire, Varuna, Moon and Kuvera. Indra represents kingly function of *protection* of person and property. The god of air (Vayu) helps in the diffusion of scents, so the king may be of great help in the *diffusion of culture*[2] and thus is the "generator of good and evil actions." "As Yama is the god who punishes (human beings after death) so also the monarch is the punisher of offences (in this world)."[3] Again as the sun-god dispels darkness and creates light so the king destroys irreligion and is the *founder of religion.* The functions of Fire (Agni) and water-god (Varuna) are probably complementary and both represent economic functions, *i.e.*, functions connected with wealth. "Like Agni, the prince is the purifier and enjoyer of all gifts"[4]—probably this stands for the *tax-realising* functions of the king. The other function represented by Varuna, is, as we have said, complementary, because with the realised taxes he conducts the government and thus maintains everybody. This is the *tax-spending* function of the sovereign for the welfare of the subjects. The distinctive function of Moon is to please human beings. Needless to say this is not a real function at all. Sukra unnecessarily repeats the function of protection, when Kuvera is laid under contribution in the making of a king. Probably this repetition is an indication of the anxious emphasis which Sukra wants to lay on the function of protection which is the primary duty of the king and without which we revert to a condition of Matsyanyaya.[1]

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[1] Ch. I, lines 141-161, *cf.* Manu, Chs. 7, 4.

[2] In Ch. I, line 767, Sukra says that *Pandits*, females and creepers do not flourish without resting grounds—which means that the state must actively encourage learning. Again in Ch. I, line 155, the king is said to be able to endow his subjects with good qualities. In Ch. I, line 741, Sukra says that "the king should always take such steps as may advance the arts and sciences of the country." See also Ch. I, line 740, also Ch. IV, Sec. 7, lines 53-8.

[3] *Ibid*, line 147.

[4] *Ibid*, line 148.

These functions have been modified by Sukra himself here and there. In one place the king is said to possess the attributes of father, mother, preceptor, brother, friend, Kuvera and Yama.[2] In another place eight functions of the king have been enumerated, *viz.*, "punishment of the wicked, *charity*, protection of the subjects, performance of Rajasuya and other sacrifices, equitable realisation of revenues, *conversion of princes into tributary chiefs*, quelling of the enemies and *extraction of wealth from land.*[3] It will be seen that in this case too the king has got *eight* functions,[4] though in the former case there are really six functions.

Taking all these functions together and ignoring those which are mere repetitions, we may say that there are *nine functions* of the king according to Sukra. These are the functions of protection and punishment,[5] tax-realising and tax-spending functions, wealth producing functions, functions as regards the advancement of learning and religion, the functions of charity [6] and conquest.

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[1] A beautiful description of the condition of *Matsyanyaya* or anarchy is given in the Santiparva—which in some essentials resembles that of Hobbes. In this pre-political state—as depicted in the Santiparva—there is no mine and thine, no morality, no rules for marriage and no property; in fact chaos reigns all round.

[2] Ch. I, lines 155-160.

[3] Ch. I, lines 245-248.

[4] The other case is where the king is said to be made out of *eight* gods.

[5] These two functions may be combined into one and thus there may be *eight* functions; but it is better to keep them separate—protection having reference to external enemies and punishment to miscreants within the state.

[6] In modern language it means the responsibility of the state for the helpless, weak and poor.

Kautilya does not in so many words speak of the functions of the king in a compact passage, but from a careful study of his treatise we can say that he attributes to the king at least seven out of the nine functions described by Sukra. The two functions which he leaves out of account refer to promotion of education and religion. From one passage it may be inferred that the king is to look after the interests of religion, because there the king is asked to "personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brahmans learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places"[1] and so on. But from a study of the whole book it will be evident that Kautilya looked upon religion as a convenient instrument of state policy and did not hesitate to prostitute religious institutions for political purposes.[2] Education finds no place in this catalogue, obviously because of the fact that the Kautilyan king is throughout dominated by one ideal, *viz.*, expansion.

The essential functions of the king, *viz.*, protection and punishment are referred to by Kautilya in the chapter[3] where he defines Dandaniti. The two other functions, *viz.*, realisation of taxes and spending of taxes, which are no less essential than the other two just mentioned, are also spoken of by Kautilya in the chapter[4] where the business of collection of revenue by the collector-general is described. The three other functions which are non-essential are the functions of charity and general welfare, wealth-producing function[5] and lastly the function of conquest. Many of the modern paternal and socialistic functions of the state have been anticipated by Kautilya when he lays it down that "the king shall provide the orphans, the aged, the infirm, the afflicted and the helpless with maintenance. He shall also provide subsistence to helpless women when they are carrying and also to the children they give birth to."[1] In abnormal times, *i.e.*, in times of famine, "the king shall show favour to his people by providing them with seeds and provision."[2] In case this proves insufficient the "policy of thinning the rich by exacting excessive revenue, or causing them to vomit their accumulated wealth may be resorted to."[3] The economic functions of the state as described by Kautilya are numerous and important too and indicate in a forcible way the materialistic bias of the Arthasastra.[4] The king, or for the matter of that, the state of Kautilya is to "carry on mining operations and manufactures, exploit timber and elephant forests, offer facilities for cattle-breeding and commerce, construct roads and traffic both by land and water, and set up market towns."[5] Not content with this brief catalogue of economic functions Kautilya devotes the second book of his Arthasastra almost entirely to a description of the functions and duties of the various State Superintendents who are put in charge of agriculture, pasture-lands, forest produce, mining and manufacture, commerce, weaving, etc.[6] But Sukra "does not probably think of any state-conducted enterprise"[7] in industry or commerce though extraction of wealth from land[8] formed one of the functions of the state of Sukra.

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[1] Bk. I, Ch. 19.

[2] Bk. XIII, Ch. 1.

[3] Bk. I, Ch. 4.

[4] Bk. II, Ch. 6. In this chapter the various sources of revenue (*Durga, Rashtra, Khani, Setu, Vana, Vraja* and *Vanikpatha*) and the various heads of expenditure are described.

[5] Function of causing immigration or emigration is also referred to in Bk. II, Ch. 1.

(*To be continued.*)

AJIT KUMAR SEN

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[1] Bk. II, Ch. 1.

[2] Bk. IV, Ch. 3.

[3] *Ibid.* In modern technical language, this is the principle of progressive taxation carried to its logical extreme.

[4] In fact the name Arthasastra itself suggests materialistic leanings. *Artha* is wealth or earth.

[5] Bk. II, Ch. 1.

[6] For a lucid account of all these things refer to Dr. Narendra N. Law's *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity.*

[7] *Pos Background of Hindu Sociology*, Bk. II, Part 1, by Prof. Benoy K. Sarkar.

[8] *Sukra*, Ch. 1, lines 245-8. But Prof. Benoy K. Sarkar expresses surprise (see *Pos. Back-ground*, p. 119) that "we do not have indications of *ager-publicus*, *domaine* or crown-land" in *Sukraniti.*

RAJA RAJENDRALALA MITRA AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF ORISSA

To

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO HIS HONOUR THE LIEUTENANT
GOVERNOR OF BENGAL, CALCUTTA.

MANIKTOLLAH,
The 16th April, 1868.

SIR,

With reference to what passed at my interview with His Honour the Lt. Governor the other day, I beg you will be good enough to submit the following outline of my plan for an archæological survey of Orissa for His Honour's consideration.

I select Orissa for the proposed survey, as I believe the architectural remains in that province are, next to those of Behar, the most extensive and of peculiar interest to the Indian antiquarian. Although to a certain extent cut off from the rest of India, Orissa attained to considerable importance at an early period of Indian history, and was a very flourishing province at a time when Bengal was scarcely known to the Aryan Indians. In the 3rd century before Christ Asoka, emperor of India held it to be of sufficient political value to have his edicts recorded on the rocks of Dhauli, and at the beginning of the Christian era it became the seat of many extensive Buddhist Monasteries, traces of which are still extant. Mons Remusat was of opinion that the car festival of Jugannath had been borrowed from an old Buddhist custom which Fa Hian noticed in Mongolia, in the 4th century; and the great Hindoo divinity Jugannath itself is by many believed to be only a solid representation of a Buddhist monogram and a relic depositary of a primar age.

As far as is at present known the principal places of antiquarian interest, in Orissa are the following :—

I. Jaleswar. It contains a mosque of some interest of the time of the old Pathan governors of Bengal, and the remains of a large fort the history of which is unknown.

II. Balasore, supposed to be the ancient capital Vona Raja a contemporary of Krishna, a large mound exists in the neighbourhood of the town, which is said to be the remains of the Raja's place, but which is likely to turn up to be a Buddhist tope.

III. Jajapur, a place of Hindu pilgrimage. There are in it an old monolithic pillar, and some Buddhist ruins.

IV. Chadwar near Cuttack ; an old Buddhist town said to contain many ancient remains.

V. Cuttack, its old fort, and Saranggorh, Teliagarh and Newraj in its neighbourhood said to contain Buddhist remains.

VI. Ratnapur a small town near Konarak, contains several old temples.

VII. Konarak with its "Black Pagoda" and the ancient temples.

VIII. Puree including Gundiehagurh and Khurda which are nearly as elaborate as those of Ellora.

IX. Bhubaneswar having several very large temples of great value from 12 to 14 hundred years old,

X. Dhauli Hill with its rock cut inscriptions.

XI. Udaygiri rock caves in Alamgiri Purgunnah Alti.

Little has been done to examine and record the history of these places and of their many ancient buildings and monuments of by-gone ages. A few drawings by Daniell, and some hasty desultory and mostly partial notices in Sterling's "Orissa," Fergusson's "Handbook of Architecture," and Kittoe's "Notes of a tour in Orissa" published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, are all that are accessible to the enquirer.

It is desirable therefore that measures should be adopted for a systematic investigation of all the ancient buildings, temples and tumuli in the province, with a view to place on record full descriptions, together with all that may be revived from oblivion of their early history. As a general rule the description of each place should include a survey of its principal ancient buildings, and a ground plan of every building or ruin of note, with measurements of its height and extent, and photographs of its façade views together with drawings and sections of all sculptural and architectural details of value and accurate facsimiles of inscriptions. A brief account of the traditions current among the people regarding all objects of note should also be included.

The cost of the survey is not likely to be great. Should His Honour be pleased to entrust me with the work, I shall be happy to render my services, without any remuneration during the next Dusserah and Winter vacations, when I hope to obtain leave of absence from the Board of Revenue. My travelling expenses and the cost of making surveys, measurements, excavations and occasional clearing of jungle and other contingencies will in two months scarcely amount to Rs. 1,200. About Rs. 150 have also to be provided for the salary and travelling allowance of a draughtsman on Rs. 40 to 50 per month whose services would be of great aid to me.

As I have some experience in practical photography the expense of taking photographs will be limited to the cost of chemicals.

Although want of time will not permit of my superintending the taking of the casts lately ordered by the supreme government, I shall be able to select and mark all those architectural details and sculptures which are likely to prove of interest to the Society of Arts; and their value is sure to be considerably enhanced by the information which will be collected by the survey regarding the age and history of the buildings, &c.

I remain,

SIR,

Yours obediently,

RAJENDRALALA MITRA

A SUMMER HOLIDAY

I love the summer with all its heat, the summer of my native place, its hills and dales, its woods and meadows, its mountain torrents breaking the monotony of a sultry noon.

Away from the din and bustle of the town, in a sequestered nook, under the cool shade of a banyan tree stands my lovely bungalow. Close by a rippling rivulet meanders its way through bush and briar and not far off the silvery sands of a dried up river glitter under the blazing sun of a summer noon.

The marble floor of my bungalow cool in itself is kept cooler by a continuous shower from an artificial fountain and below on the bosom of a tank dance myriads of lotus diffusing their sweet fragrance all around. But I like the hills, I like the woods, I like the mountain torrents. The solemn grandeur, the serene calmness, the hallowed solitude of nature go deep into my heart. I am enraptured, I am lost in gazing on its chaste, divine, unborrowed beauty. Often have I snatched myself from the humdrum artificiality of life and away in the recess of a forest stood face to face with truth in all its original beauty. Nature has a charm for me. I open out my heart to it rapt in admiration of its constancy and its fidelity. Species never mingling with one another have stood apart for ages together fulfilling their respective missions chalked out by a divine hand. In this vast universe they lose not their identity. They are true to their type, true to their selves. Alas! could man be true to himself? How many are? How many have any principle which they follow faithfully to the end? In their mean struggle for existence they change with every breath of wind and lose hopelessly their identity. We are neither gander nor goose, and when the day comes we are far from our God, far from our own selves. "Unsex me," cried Lady Macbeth before she could dive the dagger deep into the heart of Duncan.

She would be false to her own nature, false to her own God—her ideal of what a woman in all her tenderness should be. And so have I to strengthen my heart, to purify my soul, to be what I am, run in summer holidays into woods and hills, my companions of childhood and taken from them my lessons in constancy and fidelity.

G.

THE WEST WIND KNOWS OR I

(*Translated from the Persian.*)

Thy tryst is broke. My heart is crusht.
Who knows? The west wind knows or I?
My thee-ward love has pierced me thro',
Why strike again, distrest I lie?
There the lightning flasheth,
Weeping rain here dasheth,
I alone. Breath crasheth.
Who knows? The west wind knows or I?

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

BRAHMINISM IN THE "SMRITIS"

'*Smritis*' *as history.*

"Of created beings the most excellent are said to be those which are animated; of the animated, those which subsist by intelligence; of the intelligent, mankind; and of men, the Brāhmanas." (Manu, Ch. I, 96. S.B.E.) "The enjoyment of earth's sovereignty is but the proud privilege of the valorous." (Parashara Sambita, Ch. I, 58. Dutt's Translation.) "Knowledge is Power," says Brihaspatee. (Barhaspatya Arthsashtra, Dr. Thomas.) How mankind became "the most excellent beings," how man stepped into the sovereignty of this earth is one of the most fascinating of romances.

It is, however, a long tale. Prof. Robinson says:

> "We are beginning to recognize the immense antiquity of man. There are paleolithic implements which there is some reason for supposing may have been made a hundred and fifty thousand years ago, the colithic remains may, perhaps, antedate the paleolithic by an equally long period. Mere guesses and impressions, of course, this assignment of milleniums, which appear to have been preceded by some hundreds of thousands of years during which an animal was developing with a relatively enormous brain case a skilful hand and an inveterate tendency to throw stones, flourish sticks, to defeat aggression and satisfy his natural appetites by the use of his wits rather than by strength alone. 'Pre-historic' is a word that must go the way of 'pre-adamite.' They both indicate a suspicion that we are in some way gaining illicit information about what happened before the foot lights were turned on and the curtain rose on the great human drama."

Our Rishis appear to have made such guesses about the length of the human drama. Manu says:

> "They declare that the Krita age consists of four thousand years, the twilights preceding it consists of as many hundreds, and the twilight following it, of the same number. In the other three ages with their

twilights preceding and following, the thousands and hundreds, are diminished by one in each. These twelve thousand years which thus have been just mentioned as the total of four human ages are called one age of the gods. But know that the sum of one thousand ages of the gods makes one day of Brahman, and that his night has the same length. Those only who know that the holy day of Brahman, indeed, ends after the completion of one thousand ages of the gods and that his night lasts as long are really men acquainted with the length of days and night." (Manu, Ch. 69-73, S.B.E.)

"Mere guesses and impressions of course, this assignment of millenniums" as Prof. Robinson says, but it is nevertheless a very bold and illuminating idea of Time. "The sun divides days and nights," says Manu (Ch. I. 65); and it requires much effort to lift men out of this crude measure of time. Nothing short of millenniums will give us in a true perspective the past infinity of human existence and effort.

And for aught we know, it may be that our Rishis were not spinning out any fancies of their brain. It may be sober history. Vishnu Smriti says "These Mantras (Vedic) chanted tend to purify all creatures, and their chanter is enabled to recollect the incidents of his past existences, if he so desires it." (Ch. 56. 27.) If we do not dabble out any occult metaphysical explanation of this simple text, we shall at once see that the Vedic Mantras give the past history of man. The celebrated Mimansa rule of interpretation that from custom, a lost text of the Veda should be presumed also points to a presumption that the Vedas recorded the customs then prevailing. (See Apastamba, 1. 1. 4: 3. S. B. E.)

The division of the human drama into four acts which is done by our Rishis is not altogether a fanciful thing. We find four distinct stages in the growth of society. Nomad hordes, village-communities, families, individuals, these words stand for these four stages. Modern scholarship has given the dogma its blessings. The wandering nomad hordes settled on the soil and split up into village communities, the village-communities split up into distinct families, and the families broke up into individuals as units. One is most agreeably surprised to find some indications of this history in the Smritis. Parashara says:

> "In the Satya-yuga one should abandon the country in order to avoid the company of a sinner; in the Treta, the village he lives in; in the Dvapara, the family he belongs to; and the sinner himself in the Kali Yuga. Sinful is the conversation with a sinner in the Satya Yuga, his very sight in the Treta, and eating his boiled rice in the Dvapara. In the Kali Yuga, it is his act alone that degrades a man." (Parashara Samhita, Ch. I., 24-25. Dutt's Translation.)

The country and Satya-yuga, the village and the Treta-yuga, the family and Dvapara-yuga, the individual and Kali-yuga, are most characteristically coupled together, not without some meaning.

In the Kali-yuga, the individual is the unit of society, in the Dvapara, the family; in the Treta, the village; ~~and in~~ the Satya-yuga, the whole country. In the Kali-yuga, the individual is visited with the evil consequences of his sins and enjoys the fruit of his good acts. In the Dvapara, the whole family stands or falls by the merit or demerit of its component parts. In the Treta, the whole village stands or falls by the merit or demerit of its component parts. And in the Satya-yuga, the whole country for the time being inhabited by the nomad troupe falls or stands with its component parts. In nomadic hordes mere conversation with a sinner is sinful, in village-communities, it is enough if one leaves the village and avoids this right of the sinner, in families, one must not eat the boiled rice—a most characteristic feature of family life. I am almost tempted to assert that Parashara here gives the four stages of human progress.

Manu says, "In the Krita age the chief virtue is declared to be the performance of austerities; in the Treta, knowledge; in the Dvapara, performance of sacrifices (Yajnas); in the Kali, liberality (practice of charities) alone." (Manu, Ch. I,

86. S.B.E.), In the beginning of life, man had to struggle painfully for bare existence. "Cannon behind them, cannon in front of them, volleyed and thundered." Lightning and thunder, forests and water, snakes and tigers, what fearful odds had he not to fight against. It was a hard strife against hunger and cold and a life-long misery to keep body and soul together. With no experience to guide him, with no 'social heritage' as Graham Wallas calls it, it was the bravest fight. Nature doled out a niggardly pittance after man put forth the hardest exertions. Was it not, then, an age of Tapa? But even in this hard struggle, even when man could afford to be wise only after the event, even then, man picked up odd bits of knowledge. He carefully garnered the rich treasure. It was, indeed, a very costly method of growing wise but there was no other method possible then. As time went on, this knowledge, begotten of experience sad, ~~grew in~~ volume and variety. Men had not now to learn wisdom from actual experience, they could steer their way by the foot-prints of their fore-fathers. There came to be for man what is called 'social heritage.' Men found it to their advantage to learn this wisdom. This was the age of 'knowledge,' the era of 'social heritage,' the Treta age when men learnt wisdom without any actual experience. And as man grew rich in 'social heritage,' the age of 'Yajnas' dawned, the age of prosperity and plenty, fellowship and co-operation for happiness in the next world and here. And as plenty surfeits oft, we are now at a stage when we practise charities, slave and work for the good of fellow-man; this is the age, when our age-long efforts have resulted in such plenty that there will be no pleasure for us but in altruism. We are so saturated with the sweets of this earth that the whole mass must break up into purest crystals of altruism. The Kali Yuga has but just dawned and the spirit of altruism is abroad and is bound to be so abroad. The painful struggle of the Satya Yuga, the social heritage of the Treta;

the plenty of Dwapara, the surfeit of Kali, what a prophetic truthful history of mankind is there ?

Manu says :

> "In the Krita age, Dharma is four-footed and entire, and so is Truth; nor does any gain accrue to men by unrighteousness. In the other three ages, by reason of unjust gains, Dharma is deprived successively of one foot, and through the prevalence of theft, falsehood and fraud the merit gained by men is diminished by one-fourth in each." (Manu, Ch. I, 81-82, S.B.E.)

This idea of a lost golden age is common to all thinkers of the world from Manu to Rousseau. It is a very daring thing to brand this brilliant galaxy of savants as a pack of old fools. There is truth in what they say. When man cared nought for the morrow and lived from hand to mouth, who would rob him indeed ?—And who so poor as to defraud his fellow beggar ? There was then absolutely no motive for wickedness. Men were virtuous out of sheer necessity, as it were. But as men grew rich and stored for the rainy season, motives for fraud and falsehood, theft and robbery, came into being. The wickedness is on the increase *pari passu* with our prosperity. Rules of morality are being enunciated and enforced to weed out this pestilential unsocial tendency of some of us and man may succeed at last. The golden age was indeed an age of perfect righteousness and splendid moral rules but it was nevertheless an age of stark nakedness and dire want. Shall we be beggars and saints or shall we be saints and wealthy ? We cannot have the rose and not the thorn. The two grow together. Man is ever trying to take the rose and avoid the thorn and he will succeed after all. If he conquered nature, he will certainly conquer himself. But it must be admitted that Manu is right when he says that wickedness has increased with our prosperity. The only difference between these savants and us is that they look too much askance and we look ahead of us.

The Smritis give us hints and traces of the whole genesis. The truthful history of man lies shrouded in their quaint phraseology. Not unoften the whole bare outline is filled in with bewildering colours of wild imagination. But so it has been everywhere. Simple facts, actually observed and remembered, grow into grotesque legends and myths. Men never stop at mere description of facts, they hurry up to give an explanation of same. And thus grow together bad history and worse philosophy, spreading with rank wilderness the fair face of this earth. But if we catch up a hint, a trace, a thread of the past history of man, we shall come to true history, the best first-hand material for an account of our remote antiquity. The Smritis do give such hints now and then, one must follow up the faintest trace discoverable in them and voyage over the trackless past eternity of man. If we do not exactly break our shins against the Indies, we shall at least stumble upon the Americas. We shall be gainers all ~~the same~~.

Manu says:

> "Then I, desiring to produce created beings, performed very difficult austerities, and thereby called into existence ten great sages, lords of created beings. Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachetas, Vasistha, Bhrigu, and Narada. They created seven other Manus possessing great brilliancy, gods and classes of gods and great sages of measureless power, Yakshas, Rakshusas and Pisachas, Apsaras, Asuras, Nagas and Surpa[illegible] Suparnas and the several classes of manes, lightnings, thunderbolts and clouds, imperfect and perfect rainbows, falling meteors, supernatural noises, comets, and heavenly lights of many kinds, kinnaras, monkeys, fishes, birds of many kinds, cattle, deer, men, and carnivorous beasts with two rows of teeth, small and large worms and beetles, moths, lice, flies, bugs, all stinging and biting insects and the several kinds of immoveable things. Thus was this whole creation, both the immoveable and the moveable, produced by those high-minded ones by means of austerities and at my command, each being according to the results of its actions." (Manu, Ch. I., 34-41.)

We cannot interpret the word 'produce' as 'having created.' It gives a better meaning if we say that these sages 'of measureless power' acquired a knowledge of these things by practise of austerities.

Manu says :

> "But to whatever course of action the Lord at first appointed each kind of being that alone it has spontaneously adopted in each succeeding creation. Whatever he assigned to each at the first creation, noxiousness or harmlessness, gentleness or ferocity, virtue or sin, truth or falsehood, that clung afterwards spontaneously to it." (Manu, Ch. I, 28-29, S.B.E.)

It is rather a quaint way of describing the natural qualities of created beings, a chapter in descriptive zoology and botany. The account does not stop at mere description. It gives an explanation.

Manu Says :

> "As at the change of the seasons, each season of its own accord assumes its distinctive marks even so corporeal beings resume in new births their appointed course of action. These plants which are surrounded by multiform darkness, the result of their acts in former existences, possess internal consciousness and experience pleasure and pain. The various conditions in this always terrible and constantly changing circle of births and deaths to which created beings are subject, are stated to begin with that of Brahman, and to end with that of these just mentioned immoveable creatures." (Manu, Ch. I, 30, 49-50, S. B. E.)

We are not so much concerned with the soundness of this theory. Darwin's account of the evolution, Dr. Bose's researches into consciousness of plants and metals, prevent us from laughing this mysticism to scorn. But that is no concern of ours. On the theory of evolution given by Manu, we cannot hold that the sages could create these things which created themselves according to their good or bad acts. It but means that these sages acquired the knowledge of the innate qualities of all these creatures and tried to fathom the philosophy of the creation. It is then but quite natural that it took life-long studies and observations, reflections and meditations, to come by this rich heritage and it is no wonder that these observed qualities were found invariably in the creatures observed to be endowed with them. Manu as plainly as possible says the same thing. He says:

> "But whatever act is stated to belong to each of those creatures here below, that I will truly declare to you, as well as their order in respect to birth." (Manu, Ch. I, 42, S. B. E.)

Then he actually gives a list of creatures born from the womb, from the egg, from the seed and slips, and from heat. (Manu, Ch. I, 43-48, S. B. E.)

This will show how man came to inherit the rich 'social heritage' of to-day. Manu says that it was acquired by practise of painful and hard austerities. We can very well believe in him. The riches and plenty now abounding on this earth are the result of painful struggles and exertions, privations and denials, of countless generations of our forefathers. The Goddess of Wealth called Shri or Laxmi has well said to mother Earth:

> "I reside in that cloud from which the waters of the rain pour down, in a horse exulting in his vigour, in a proud bull, in a Brahmana who studies the Veda, in a polished sword, in earth recently thrown up, in milk, butter, fresh grass, honey and sour milk, in women whose speeches are kind, who keep up saving habits, who are not quarrelsome, in a virtuous man, in one who is satisfied with his own wife, in one who refrains from eating too often, in one skilled in his own business and in other mens' business, in one who has returned victorious from battle and in one who has fallen on the field of honour and proceeded to a seat in heaven." (Vishnu Smriti, Ch. 99, 9-23, S. B. E.)

This is the account then of how man acquired knowledge of things and attained prosperity on this earth. This is the history of man beginning with the painful struggle for existence, acquirement of knowledge by hard exertions, ending in prosperity and plenty. There is indeed wickedness in the world but it is bound to be and man is putting his whole energy now on the conquest of himself, after he has conquered Nature. The Smritis give a most instructive tale.

Primitive Culture.

The Smritis contain grave warnings and learned instructions about such simple matters that a child of these days will laugh at them. But a wise man should not so unfavourably criticize them, for he has no excuse of ignorance. Parashara says:

> "The ethical rules, which obtain in the different Yugas, and the Brāhmanas, who are respectively born therein, should not be unfavourably criticized in as much as in them the spirit of a Yuga is incarnated." (Parashara Samhita, Ch. I, 32, Dutt's Trans.)

Men had to spend years of observation and make costly and painful experiments before they acquired knowledge of these simple things. Where would we have been but for this valuable knowledge? The fact that it has become the common equipment of all of us, that we learn all ~~that in our~~ childhood, ought not to belittle that treasure in our eyes. It will be ungrateful to spurn the ladder on which we have climbed up. A child of these days knows that the earth is a round ball, that it spins round the sun and that the Americas lie across the Atlantic, but we know how grown-up learned men were in blissful ignorance about these 'simple facts.' Even so momentous were the discoveries made by our ancestors which we now are ready to brand as childish commonplace. No one will read history aright if he foolishly tosses up his nose and gives out a contemptuous laugh at the childish ignorance of his forefathers. He must calmly ponder over the facts and realize what 'great things' they were in those days and what it cost them then and how those great things have contributed towards the comforts and riches he now rolls on. I purpose to show what these great things were:

Each Smriti contains rules as to what should be eaten and what ought not to be eaten.

"Of five-toed animals, the porcupine, the hedge-hog, the hare, the tortoise and the iguana may be eaten; of domestic animals, those having one jaw only, save camels; of aquatic animals, the alligator and the crab must not be eaten; now those which are misshaped like snakes, nor kine, gavayas and sharabhas. Among birds those which seek food by scratching with their feet, the webb-footed one, the kalavanika, the water-hen, the flamingo, the Brahmani duck, the Bhasa, the crow, the blue pigeon, the osprey, the chatak, the dove, the crane, the black partridge, the grey heron, the vulture, the falcon, the white egret, the ibis, the cormorant, the peewit, the flying fox, those flying about at night, the wood-peeker, the sparrow, the Renlalka, the green pigeon, the wag-tail, the village cock, the parrot, the starling, the cuckoo, those living on flesh and those moving about villages must not be eaten." (Vasistha Samhita, Ch. 12, Dutt's Trans.)

Manu says:

"But the fish called Pathina and that called Rohita may be eaten, one may eat likewise Rajivas, Simhatundas and Sasalkas on all occasions." (Manu, Ch. 5.16, S. B. E.)

Apastamba says:

"But the meat of milch-cows and oxen may be eaten." (Apastamba, S. B. E., 1.5.17.30.)

Apastamba again says:

"Amongst fishes the Keta ought not to be eaten." (*Ibid.*)

Manu says, "Let him not eat solitary or unknown beasts and birds, though they may fall under the categories of eatable creatures." (Manu, Ch. V. 17, S. B. E.) This shows a warning against unknown things. Apastamba says that "anything else which those learned in the law forbid" should not be eaten. (Apastamba, 1. 5. 17. 27, S. B. E.) Gautama says, "Let him eat the flesh of animals killed by beasts of prey, after having washed it, if no blemish is visible, and if it is declared to be fit for use by the word of a Brāhmana." (Gautama, Ch. 17. 38, S. B. E.) This will show that men 'learned in the law' were required to say whether a certain thing was eatable or not. The word of a

Brahmana' was required to certify eatables. There was a general injunction against 'unknown solitary beasts or birds.' Vasistha gravely says "They make conflicting statements about the rhinoceros and the wild boar." (Vasistha Samhita, Ch. 12, Dutt's Trans.) Alas, even so early was there a conflict of learned opinion on these important points.

The classification of things eatable and not eatable took years of acute observation and dangerous experiments and it was but slowly that the knowledge was acquired and handed down by 'Brahmans' learned in law. When we read in modern history how the Chinese official ate up the present of a dog, and how the lady in England threw out the liquid and chewed the tea-leaves, we can easily understand that the task of our forefathers was a difficult one and that, perhaps, it is not yet completely done. Amongst my countrymen there are yet educated people who do not know whence cocoa, sago, assafœtida, solam misri and such common things come. The Smritis have a very meagre list of vegetable diet and their stock exhausts itself with the enumeration of rice, barley, wheat, sesamum, gums, seme roots, fruits and leaves. Milk, ghee, oil, fat exhaust their articles in this line. But their list of eatable animals is copious. And even then much learning was required to distinguish the eatables from the uneatables. It was bound to be so. The simple facts were the result of learned research. We wonder at the 'prickless cactus' of Burbank and even so did our ancestors at each addition to their dietary.

There are, indeed, directions against eating of animal food except when offered to the Gods or Manes; and terrors are held up before flesh eaters. But this is distinctly a latter phase. The Rishis who forbade flesh could not give such copious lists of animals, were they not thoroughly acquainted with the diet. The penances prescribed for eating forbidden food show that they were directed much more to purify the body rather than the soul of the eater. Vishnu prescribes, a decoction of the Brahmasuvarkala plant, Panchgavya (most probably an emetic, as the writer can vouch from own experience), and fasts of more or less duration for eating forbidden thing. (See Vishnu Smriti, Ch. 56, S. B. E.) Shankhapushpi plant, barley-gruel, clarified butter are variously prescribed for eating of forbidden food, showing how these cures were called penances.

Apastamba forbids food in which "an insect living on impure substances is found," "excrements or limbs of a mouse are found," as also that "which has been touched by the foot or with the hem of a garment" or "which is brought in the hem of a garment." (Apastamba, 1. 5. 16. 26-29-31.) He likewise forbids food in which there is hair or any other unclean substance." (1. 5. 16. 23-24. *Ibid.*)

Almost every Smriti contains instructions about forbidden food and penances for eating same. We have also seen that learned sages had a conflict of opinion on these important matters, which almost provokes a smile. But let us stand struck awfully at this grave learning. It was then not such a light matter to laugh at. It was a question of life and death. The sages ask Bhrigu :

> "How can Death have power over Brahmanas who know the sacred science, the Veda, and who fulfil their duties as they have been explained by thee, O Lord "? "Righteous Bhrigu, the son of Manu, thus answered the great sages; Hear in punishment of what faults Death seeks to shorten the lives of Brahmanas; through neglect of the Veda study, through deviation from the rule of conduct, through remissness in the fulfilment of duties, and through faults committed by eating forbidden food, Death becomes eager to shorten the lives of Brahmanas." (Manu, Ch. V, 2-4. S. B. E.)

Strange thing it now appears to class eating of forbidden food on a par with neglect of Veda study.

A question is propounded by Apastamba "who then are those whose food may be eaten ? " "Offered food, which is pure, may be eaten, according to Eka, Kunika, Kanva, Kutsa, and Pushkarsadi. Varshayani's opinion is that food given unasked may be accepted from anybody. But not if it be given after an express previous announcement thus, says Harita." (Apastamba, 1. 6. 19. 2, 7, 8, 12, S. B. E.) Manu forbids taking of food given by an actor, a tailor, an informer, a blacksmith, a nishada, a goldsmith, a basket-maker, a dealer in weapons, a washerman, a dyer, trainers of hunting dogs, publicans, or by a man in whose house lives a paramour of his wife. He likewise says food given by one accused of a mortal sin, a hermaphrodite, an unchaste woman, a hypocrite, a physician, a hunter or that of an enemy should be avoided. (Manu, Ch. IV, 207-223, S. B. E.) It will be seen that food of only those persons is forbidden from whom some danger of foul play or poisoning is suspected. Manu gives a very characteristic sign when he says that food "given at a dinner where a guest rises prematurely and sips water" should not be eaten. This clearly is a sign that the food is bad. So also Apastamba very characteristically says that food about which an express previous announcement is made is not to be eaten, for it is likely to be prepared with some sinister purpose. There is another motive also in excluding food of certain men. It is their uncleanliness and ignorance of eatables: Manu says, "He who does not eat like a Pisach, becomes dear to men and will not be tormented by diseases." (Ch. V, 50, S. B. E.) Apastamba says that "pure men of the three castes shall prepare the food at the Vaishwadeva ceremony and also allows Sudras to prepare the food, under the superintendence of men of the first three castes." He gives very interesting instructions about these cooks. Says he:—"The Sudra cook daily shall cause to be cut the hair of their heads, their beards, the hair on their bodies, and their nails. And they shall bathe, or they may trim their hair and nails on eighth day or on the days of the full and new moon." (Apastamba, 2. 2. 3. 6-8, S. B. E.) I am tempted to say that Englishmen here will do well to write this in letters of gold in every kitchen for the Khan-i-Samahs of this age. Apastamba says "The cook shall not speak, nor cough, nor sneeze while his face is turned towards the food." (2. 2. 3. 2. *Ibid.*) Alas! Alas! it was either too bad with these cooks then, or perhaps, these instructions are too good for our pockets of this century. But Rishis almost appear to be prototypes of the modern Englishman. They appear to have indulged in the luxury of a Khansamah. They give very minute and precise directions. Says Apastamba: "When the food is ready, the cook shall place himself before his master and announce it to him saying 'It is ready.' The answer of the master shall be "That well-prepared food is the means to obtain splendour, may it never fail." (2. 2. 3. 10-11, S. B. E.)

Our Rishis attached utmost importance to food. Their regard for purity of food appears to have been greater than that for purity of blood. I have detailed at length on these directions for they are the basis for the modern restrictions on inter-dining observed in India. They are really founded on very intelligible grounds with strictest regard to principles of hygiene and if we find some things to amend, there is yet much more in the Smritis which we or even our European or Mahomedan brothers will better enforce and follow. Prohibition of inter-dining and inter-marriage are the two most characteristic features of the Hindu caste system. There are indeed phantastic developments of some simple reasonable rules but there is much solid truth underlying these precepts which we will do well to develop suiting to the changed environment of our time. Let us not follow to the letter but let us at least imbibe the spirit of these rules.

(*To be continued*)

D. R. VAIDYA

EVEN AS A CHILD

In the wild passion of a childish grief,
I turned my streaming eyes unto the bed-side wall,
Clasping my hands before
To shut out all the intimate relief
Of the soft, clinging hands I knew of yore,
Which lovingly would come
And twine my head about
To soothe with love a soul
Through pain made whole...
My body was a raging shout
And yet the lips were dumb.
Resentment flamed within me like a ball
Of rolling fire. The rod
Re-told upon the heart
Each love-laid stroke,
Because the striker was so much beloved.
For on me had she laid—despite the smart
To her own soul—
A mother's toll
Of cleansing pain,
For it behoved
That she should punish me,
Who innocently broke
In thoughtless glee
A law which she had spoke...
But wicked thoughts outran
My flowing tears:
Aimless and fugitive
Each striving spark of good

Beneath the bitter ban
Of anger-tainted blood.
In thought I swore
I never would forgive
Her cruelty.
Writhing my burning flesh
To ease a spirit sore,
My agony did thresh
My quivering limbs
Beneath a ceaseless flail.
I had no wish to live
Without Love's pale.
I begged that I might die.
My sobs were passionate hymns
Of prayer to God
That she might find me dead
Upon my bed.
In selfishness I saw,
Gloating, her misery,
When she should raise my head
And find it cold and raw,
With undried tears
And stiffened jaw,
Fit only for the sod.
Anticipation's ecstasy
Figured how she would mourn
My dear departed worth,
That cherished her years
Which never were forlorn
Since my rich birth.
Revenge, glutting my soul,
Ate to the heart and bone.
I revelled in each fancied moan...
I gloried in a dead man's role—
And all, that I might break the heart

Of her who was Love's counterpart...

* * *

And then, yea then, she came,
As I had wished
Within my heart,
To cleanse me of my shame.
Her *saree* swished
Upon the matted floor.
With loving art
Impris'ning my hands—
Her touch was soft and pleasant—
My face she bore
Unto a mother's aching breast.
The whispering strands
Of scented hair
Fell on my clammy brow.
Penitence tore
My heart to prayer...
There was nor Past nor Present,
But only how
All time, all grief were merged
In one eternal Now.
Within the haven of that circled rest,
Of her arms' aureole,
The passions that had surged
Tempestuously long,
In perfect love made whole,
Partook the silence of eternal song...

* * *

E'en so, O Lord,
When I Thy sulky child,
Fretting against Thy hand,

By my self-love beguiled
(Freed of all human fears)
To question Thy decrees,
Treading the dark
Of guilt and guile,
Trading in contraband,
Shall steep my soul in sin,
Revel in the seas
Of passionate tears,
And bitterly revile
Thy Name, and turn away my face
And shut out every spark
Of thy eternal Light,
Banish all latent grace
In Thy despite,
Rich in the proud conceit
That Thou wert incomplete
Without my love,
Drink deep of evil's bowl
That I may vex Thy soul,
And ever fail to see
That my own misery
Is greater suffering to Thee,
Whose Love but points the Rod
And doth our ills reprove—
Even with lingering pain
That our tried limbs
May glow into a fane
Wherein the soul doth move
To sound of holy hymns—
Because Thou art the God
Of human good:
Then, even then, O Lord,
To my rebellious blood,
Thy mercy shall afford

The ever-present beat
Of Thy loving feet
Upon the hardened pathways of my heart,
My out-worn sinful part.
Will melt into the air
Of Thy enfolding care,
Thy arms will rest my head,
My soul to Thine repair,
My pains be comforted...

Sankara Krishna Chettur

IN HIS FOOTSTEPS

I heard him in my soul's remorseless cry
To sweep through time though every hope might fail,
Though all the friends fall off, and faint hearts die
In weakling fear of darkness, night and gale.

I felt him in my lifeblood's surging tide
When wrong usurping took the place of right,
When tyrant force in unjust triumph did ride,
And sinless suffering hid its face in night.

I traced him in my tears' resistless flow,
When blighted sorrow turned its glassy eye
To look beyond the starlight's tardy glow
To swift effulgence streaming down from high.

Nalinimohan Chatterjee

RED OLEANDERS

II

The full significance of *Nandini's* character can best be brought out by a study of two other important characters in the play so closely bound up with hers—the Raja and Ranjan. We put off for the present the consideration of this point and pass on to her mission of emancipation which, as we shall presently see, is something more comprehensive than a merely socio-political one as is clear from Nandini's highly suggestive mystic song (page 48) :—

"To-night light's music will be transfigured into the moon's silver white and the piece of darkness on the Night's face will open a chink at one suggestive beck—and lo! our trasient chance-meeting of four eyes will in that moonlit night's silver glow lift in a trice the entire veil—for, methinks, that mine own beloved is awaiting me on the lone wayside, yea, he, who has age after age wistfully yearned for *me alone* and whom I this moment recall, I know not why, to have once just for one moment glanced at through a corner of mine eye in the far-off dim twilight of an early dawn."

The prelude to this is found in the harvest song (called the song of the month of *Poush*) :—

> "The sky is filled with joy to hear the music of the
> flute played in the cornfields.
> And who would remain imprisoned in his house on
> a day like this :
> Fling the doors wide open."[1]

Nandini's expectation—nay certitude—that she is destined to meet Ranjan that very day despite all precautions taken by the powers that be so determined to shut him out, because he is to them a veritable riddle and his presence a menace to their irresponsible supreme authority, is not without its symbolic significance. This symbolic character is well emphasised by the rising of the curtain on a mysterious window secured by a network of complicated pattern behind which the Raja screens himself to frighten the common people with the awe of the strange and unknown. He is to them a Voice and nothing else. This kind of symbolism reminds us of Andreyeff's "The Being in Grey" called in the drama of "The Life of Man" simply "HE." Similarly Ranjan whose haunting presence broods over the whole play with a mystic vagueness exquisitely fascinating to the imagination is, however, artistically kept in the background of the action though his mysterious presence always fills the reader's mental vision as a thing never to be put by. The expectation of his arrival brightens up *Nandini's* face with the glow of a mystic light and beautiful is her irresistible appeal to the pole-star of sacred constancy. Equally suggestive is the good omen of the morning of that fateful day—that single feather from the wings of the blue-throat placed by *Nandini* against her heart as if in token of the deep truth that Ranjan's way to victory lies through her heart. Here follows significantly Bishu's "Song of Waiting." Her mission is to break into the Raja's cramped life with the fulness of joy and hang the garland of *Kunda* flowers on his neck just as a waterfall hangs from the barren steep breast of a huge mountain peak inaccessible and solitary in its naked grandeur lying detached from the world around in its giddy height. The Raja's bureaucracy have converted him into a dreadful ogre whose function is to frighten and repel all by his prestige and power and whose vocation is pitiless exploitation. He must grasp everything, possess all, seize whatever is near him or destroy and scatter all that he may fail to possess and appropriate to himself. Carlyle says hatred is inverted love. With the Raja breaking to pieces is "a fierce kind of getting." The Raja to whom Nandini brings deliverance is Force, Power, Prestige incarnate beat down by its superincumbent and insupportable weight as a mountain sinking under a catastrophic earthquake. This huge Power defeats itself by appropriating to itself everything from everywhere on earth instead of freely giving itself away to all. Hence the soft finger of *Nandini* like the delicate bud of *champak* can sooner open Destiny's closed hand holding in its grip God's supreme boon ever inaccessible to this tremendous Force and Power that can lay hold on the grosser, tangible and apparently precious valuables robbed by Power from the universe's hidden treasury which can be reached by extending Power's *hand alone*—a mere fragment of the body—whereas *men's hearts* can be reached only by the whole self. Men's hearts flee the fractional grasping hand greedily extended to catch everything. The Raja whose one concern hitherto has been to plunder in a spirit of self-aggrandisement the gross wealth of the world's vast treasure-houses and thus miss that which alone has real worth passionately enquires if indeed *Nandini* will one day cease to elude him. He feels that one day God's closed hand must be forced open by him: the Raja will give her admittance into his secret chamber on the day of liberation from the high-pressure of work which stands as a barrier between her and his little self when full of leisured ease and peace he will offer her a warm welcome at the destined hour of her approach as she will come to him like a vessel full sail before a favourable wind quietly dropping into its haven of rest. Only he wants the assurance that when such a leisure comes it must not be an empty negative something but one filled to brim with the wine of joy. He knows that the joy of holiday that her Ranjan wafts with him wherever he moves is sweetened with the honey of Nandini's red oleanders. She assures him that "he too will realise this deeper secret of life's sweetness—how to fill leisure through and through with joyousness

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[1] Page 11.

—at the very sight of Ranjan. Verily he is so beautiful." Nandini reminds us of the Vaisnāva's *Hladini*—the spirit that scatters the sweetness of joy. The time for his emancipation, the Raja feels, has not yet come yet he would fain wait in patience for the sure advent of that day and hour! (P. 17.)

Thus the Raja's inner eye is opened—he sees the deep truth that everything else on earth submits to bondage excepting Joy, that he cannot secure a response to his warm and earnest appeal to *Nandini*, for his contrast with Ranjan convinces him that "beauty alone answereth Beauty," that they alone survive who know how to die to live!

A symbolically suggestive note is struck while the Raja confesses that he yearns to sleep with his tired face buried in the thick dark tresses of *Nandini* representing to him "the silent fall of death" as distinguished from her beaming eyes and soft lips in which is the eternal play of life.

Nay, more. The moans heard by *Nandini* to proceed from the Raja's mysterious hidden room are described by him as the wail of the mystery of life cruelly wrenched asunder by his strong hand, for, in his philosophy of life a tree has to be burnt in order to produce a fire. So he fiercely proposes to burn her so that he may extract the *red fire* that sleeps within her.

We may be permitted to note here the Eastern poet-philosopher's distinctly Oriental outlook on life. The value and significance of reposeful leisure (quite different from laziness) in the midst of distracting and dissipating over-busy energising for mere self-aggrandisement (which though economically productive of vast wealth is spiritually perfectly barren and futile) is appreciated even by the Raja as the only antidote of world-weariness. The Professor explains to *Nandini* (page 56) who admires the Raja's wonderful *power* that the law of becoming great (as opposed to good) is that the flame of greatness can burn bright only so long as the little ones of the earth subjected to its devouring force are allowed to be reduced to ashes. There is something ugly and grotesque in this destroying activity of power of which the wonderful strangeness is as it were the credit side of the balance of commercialism to which it reduces life, the debit-side being the weird grotesqueness of its abuse. Much earlier in the Play this Professor has pointed out that things made up as opposed to spontaneous growth only help to limit, to define and he interprets the motive of the Governors of the Yaksha Town in cutting off *Nandini* from Ranjan (just as Jupiter in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* does Asia) as due to the habit of materialistic people to "snatch things" by fragments instead of enjoying the indivisible whole. The law of becoming great as greatness is vulgarly understood is further illustrated by the dialogue between the Sardar and the Doctor where the former practically enunciates it by observing that a great man like the Raja will undo himself if he is restrained from doing injury to others, for these big fellows are like naughty children who shatter their toys if when satiated with one game another is not immediately devised just to keep them engaged. The Raja must have another king to fight with or at least some internal trouble with his own people on whom his power must be expended.

This is not all. The intense antipathy of the restful agricultural sweet home-life of the mild Hindu with its rich and beautiful associations towards the worst features of modern industrialism lends a poignancy to *Nandini's* compassionate utterances when she discusses with the Professor the wretched lot of her former village associates and girlhood's companions now reduced as the proletariat of the Yaksha town to mere ashes unrelieved by even the vestige of a dying ember of life and soul lurking anywhere. How oppressive one single holiday is, for instance (more a nuisance than even his soul-killing hard drudgery in the dark subterranean pits) to the digger Phagulal who must drink his off-day away, for, says he, "the wild bird in the forest when off his day's work enjoys the luxury of a free flight but his spirit of freedom chafes against the bars of his cage when he is imprisoned there."

Our poet-philosopher's comment on this aspect of modern civilisation is condensed into *Nandini's* pathetic reference to the tragic fate of young men like Anup, Shaklu, Upamanyu (a name rich in associations) and Kanku (who, by the way, claims something more than her pity) who once had flesh and marrow, life and soul, but are now thrown away as mere offals out of the royal postern rousing in her moral indignation tempered with loving compassion. Here the passionate revolt of a great poet philosopher of the East, steeped in the ideals of her ancient civilisation and culture who is also an ardent lover of Beauty like Keats and of Love like Shelley, and an honest hater of all kinds of ugliness and vulgarity, against the soul-destroying materialism of a fundamentally economic type of civilisation with its huge waste of human assets ruthlessly sacrificed on the altar of Mammon-worship, of which the hideousness itself specially strikes the refined imagination glaringly and touches the delicate sensibilities of a high-strung artistic nature to fine issues, assumes in this mystic and symbolic drama just for a moment the tone of indignant cynicism. This *artistic* cynicism is, we must add, more appropriate to an impatient idealist than to Rabindranath Tagore as the WEST knows him as a man of very wide culture and wider sympathies with an ever-expansive outlook on life in all its myriad phases. The truth that has very courageously to be acknowledged is that Tagore's is a double personality however dynamic it may be. When he visits Western countries and on his return addresses the people here his poetic sensitive soul is enraptured by the energy of life in the West, its freedom, expansiveness, and her magnificent works of art. When he stays in India for a sufficiently long time to intensely FEEL with a subject race (his own people, his kith and kin) what Western man has made of man in India, his rebellious spirit flares up in righteous indignation.

It looks as if we are drifting into a digression. Let us be more definite and clear to show our point.

Shall we be far wrong in inferring that this particular drama is inspired by a noble patriotic and poetic *mood* ? Is it correct to assume that there is something *local*, if not occasional, in the very inception of this dramatic presentation of a passing aspect of life in Bengal at one particular stage in the history of her present political tragedy and struggle for self-determination ? The note of passionate indignation however softened by art lends colour to such an interpretation of the spirit of this piece. There is a world of difference in almost all respects between Tagore's "Red Oleanders" and Shelley's "Adonais" yet they have a point of contact in this passionate outburst of indignation (though Shelley's, of course, is a *lyrical* outburst). Both the works of art are full of an explosive energy.

But to return to the question of Nandini's MISSION of Emancipation which is very intimately connected with the politico-social problem forming at once the ground-work of this symbolic drama and its background as well as an enveloping medium or atmosphere. We have to dwell next at some length on the environment of the Yaksha town and of Vajragarh.

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

THE HAPPY ENDING IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

"Each story must end with a kiss!"

That is the literary critic's estimation of American literature.

"Each play, each novel, each bit of writing, must end with the trite 'and they lived happily ever after!'"

Defence is always difficult because the defender is not the challenger. Defence in this case is particularly difficult because of the almost insurmountable array of published books and stories, proving so obviously the truth of the critic's saying that the American public does demand a happy ending.

Does the defence lie in psychology, in, perhaps, a particular twist of mental outlook on the part of the majority of the nation's people, who demand optimism instead of pessimism in their fictive life?

Americans are optimists. There is no use in denying the fact. They are so much optimists that the human being who sinks to the low level of giving a prognosis of "hopeless" to every situation is universally disliked. There is no room in American taste for pessimism.

Why? Is it because Americans, on the whole, are successful (according to their standards)? Is it because they cannot believe in anything but a lucky turn of the wheel of fortune because in the past it has turned luckily for others?

Nearly everyone likes the familiar scene, the familiar ending. Fiction, obviously, is an imaginative portrayal of life; but, after all, it is a portrayal, and most quarrels *do* end in a kiss. It is not, however, with the Americans entirely a question of the hope that springs eternal in the human heart and an optimism that causes them to look for happiness. There is actuality.

The tree may die, but it dies gradually and not in a single death throe. There is tragedy in the death, but it is tragedy tempered with time and by a series of pictures of the past. How many times has not the free found its supposed "death" in the winter only to revive in the spring? When death eventually descends, may it not be but the episode of another but longer winter, leading to another and different spring?

Occasionally, the disaster of death comes about instantly. The tree is struck by lightning—split asunder straight through the length of its body. A gaunt part remains perhaps, leafless, and withered against the sky, presenting a spectacle that is ugly because it is tragedy portrayed in an ungraceful manner.

It is not tragedy as a whole that the American deplores. For each tree that is struck by lightning, many hundreds die unnoticed, sinking unmarked to become again a part of earth possibly surrounded by saplings sent forth in an earlier springtime. The picture is not unpoetic. From tragedy of this sort the American does not rebound. Death, leading to a hope of the future is not death; a drama, a novel, a short story leading to universality, no matter how tragic may be the episodes leading to the conclusion, is not tragic. It may be tragedy, but it is not tragic when the element of futurity survives.

Realism, if truly real, would be more prosaic than the most deplorably mediocre attributes of romanticism. The American is probably more realistic than is supposed. He has a decided sense of the fitness of things, and when the limbs of the tree are left to stand against the sky it is this sense that is outraged. So much for the American who can appreciate a certain form of tragedy.

Starkly realistic works of literature are generally portrayals of the minority. They cannot, then, well find any great appreciation among the majority, until that majority has experienced similar situations, until it has known a good deal of the suffering embodied in the unhappy story. The life of the average American is to him too happy a life to admit a great appreciation of tragic literature.

Occasionally, a novel or drama is written depicting conditions, let us say, in a coal mining district, or in the stockyards of Chicago. A mass of people will recognize the truth of the tragedy and will applaud the story. But the ripple is soon over. Why? Because the greater mass of the American people knows nothing of the conditions portrayed. The twelve-hourday of the coal miner is as unknown to the seven-hour-a-day office worker, as the day of the latter is unknown to the coal miner. *The Adding Machine*, presented by the New York Theatre Guild some months ago, created a sensation. There were numbers in the city of New York and among the visitors from other cities who could appreciate the realism of the play because most of them were themselves office workers and could understand the danger of man's becoming, through efficiency, but a cog in the industrial wheel. The interest in this lasted longer than the interest in a miners' situation might have lasted. It was familiar to a larger number of people. So, with *Sun Up*, a drama that is a tragedy and one that has been appreciated. Thousands upon thousands of people in the United States have felt in some way the life of the back-woods. The conditions in some of the mountainous sections of the United States are appalling, and the number of people who have emerged from the tragic educational conditions of mountainous sections or from the small town is very large.

When there is a situation in America where, supposedly, *all* women are oppressed, or all children compelled to work in factories instead of attending schools, then there will be occasion for a novel or drama whose happy ending is left by the wayside. Such a novel or drama would be universally appreciated, at least by the women whose lot had been selected for the canvas. When a condition arises in which women are not able to enter the business and industrial worlds, supporting themselves, when deserted by their husbands, when they are not so independent as at present, the novel or drama of the domestic life in which the wife remains at home suffering (an unhappy ending) will be popular.

The kiss may be an exaggeration. The happy ending need not be always felicitous. The ending is happy for the American when it partakes of poetic beauty, regardless of tragedy, and it is happy when it concurs with the rule of cases in actual life and not with the exception.

The American is well aware that life is movement. He is quick to recognize that even in the greatest tragedy, death, there is no cessation of the general activity. He knows there is no solution of any situation in human affairs that is final, and, with a queer sense of humour his own, he realizes that from old problems, no matter how well settled, new difficulties will arise.

This knowledge, together with an optimistic nature due largely to the generally pleasing character of his past experiences, is one of the causes of the American's taste for the happy ending.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

EARL READING'S SPEECH IN INDIAN ASSEMBLY

(A Challenge to Indian Statesmanship)

"The reason for British action in 1914 (entering the World War against Germany) was the same as that which on many previous occasions had dictated the despatch of troops to the continent and elsewhere, namely, British interests. The security of the state, as a dominating principle of state action, may be the reprobated principle of Niccola Machiavelli, but it is the principle upon which all statesmen act."—*Ewart, Hon. John S. The Roots and Causes of the Wars (1914-1918), Vol. I, p. 146.*

Lord Reading is a British statesman of first rank. He is ruling India because of his ability as a statesman he enjoys the confidence of the British Cabinet irrespective of party politics. His contribution towards the safety of the British Empire, during the World War, was so great that when he left his position of the British Ambassador in Washington, he was rewarded by the appreciative British Government with the present position of the Viceroy of India. During the last World War, the British Empire was saved only through American participation in the world conflict in favour of the Entente and against the Central Powers; and Earl Reading did his best to bring about America's entry into the World War. This great British statesman, realising the full significance of the situation in India and its relation to World Politics and the future of the British Empire, went to England to discuss with the British Cabinet the future course of action. Before Lord Reading returned to India from his mission to London, Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, delivered a speech in the House of Lords to pave the way for the Viceroy of India to make his pronouncements at the opening of the Indian Assembly. Lord Reading has spoken. His speech, though conciliatory, is a challenge to Indian patriotism and statesmanship.

According to the substance of the speech of His Lordship, reported in the *London Times* of *August 21, 1925*, the following passages are by far the most important, and demand careful analysis and consideration:

> "I know that there is a school of thought in India which preaches incessantly that nothing is to be won from England save by force or threats. Believe me, that is a profound mistake, and if persisted in, cannot but embitter the relations of the two countries. The reforms took their origin in England, in a spirit of good will, not of fear or of opportunism. The history of the last few years has damped the hopes and dimmed the expectations of many of those in England who wish India well, but those hopes can be rekindled, those expectations can be re-created, if India shows the hand of friendship instead of menace."

It is a fact that no nation has ever secured any substantial concession from the British people *by mere empty threats.* At the same time the very constitutional history of the British people show that no concession of any kind has ever been granted by the British ruling class to their own people, just because of the good will of the former towards the latter. From signing of the Magna Carta, the Peasants' Revolt to the growth of the present form of British democracy, the story of England is the history of persistent struggle and revolution in which even British Kings were beheaded. This struggle for securing human rights in Britain is going on; and only the other day the British Government conceded to the demand of British Labour, because the whole country was threatened with a general strike and paralysis of British industry.

Then again when we examine the very history of the growth of Self-Government in Canada, Australia, South Africa, we find that the British statesmen made concessions to these peoples after they realised that any resistance to the will of the people would be disastrous for the British Empire. In the case of South Africa and Ireland, it is very clear that the British statesmen felt that international situation made it imperative to avoid any internal trouble within the Empire. To be concrete, British statesmen did not grant self-government to the Boers to crown the ideal of democracy within the Empire; but they were forced under the circumstances to make concessions to the Boers whom they heartily hated and hate now. The situation was simple to visualise. After the Boer War, it became apparent before the whole world that Great Britain was not as strong as she was generally thought to be. During that period the French and the Russians were not at all friendly to the British, and Britain was not sure of German intentions. Later on it became evident that Britain might be involved in a conflict with some European powers, possibly Germany, and then the Boers smarting under an alien despotism might create a very serious condition for the British Empire in Africa; and this factor in international situation played a very important part when Sir Campbell Bannerman's Government made the concession to the Boers.

Ireland secured her Free State by fighting and also through international diplomatic action of the Irish patriots. The British did not consent to extend Home Rule to Ireland until they realised that it is better to have an "Irish Free State" than an Irish Republic. Lord Birkenhead, the present Secretary of State for India, was one of those who were opposed to granting any concession to the Irish people; but the Irish statesmen and patriots extracted the concession of a Free State not by threat but by serious struggle and international action. In India it is known that the Irish rose in armed revolt against Britain, but it is not so much known that the Irish defeated the British more by diplomacy than by force. *Irish diplomacy was simple. It was to carry on anti-British agitation all over the world, including India and British dominions and to concentrate all efforts for bringing about Anglo-American enmity, through the Irish and German* *influence in America.* It is a fact that the Irish influence and agitation in America made it imperative for Britain to come to an understanding with the Irish people in Ireland. Britain agreed to grant Free State to Ireland before the Washington Conference was over.

It is not the place to discuss the origin of reform in India in detail; but it suffices to say that it did not originate from the altruistic spirit of British statesmen. Morley-Minto Reform as well as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Schemes came into existence, because of the agitation in India and also because of the international situation theatening British Empire.

In this connection it may be mentioned that during the World War the Indian revolutionists did their best to establish foreign relations with various states of the world, as Benjamin Franklin and others tried to do on behalf of revolutionary America on the eve of the establishment of the United States of America. These very activities of the Indian revolutionists were probably the most important factors for Mr. Montagu's sanctioning so-called reforms.[1] Lord Morley in his "Recollections" (Vol. II) makes it clear that he started the scheme of rallying the moderates by the Morley-Minto reform plan after the Indian revolutionary movement took a terroristic turn. Regarding the rise of nationalist agitation for independence of India (1905) Viscount Morley says:

> "It was among the students in parts of India that unrest specially prevails. That class was rapidly being drawn into something like a spirit of revolt against the British Government, and the movement was unmistakably coming to a head notably in Upper India. A feeling gained ground that the last twenty years have been a period of reaction and in combative repose, the idea of complete independence of England began to appeal to youthful imagination. This marked the line of cleavage between

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[1] Das, Taraknath; India In World Politics (New York, 1924), p. 103.

moderate and extremist in native part of reform......the political changes within the last dozen years were enormous, and though the mass of the people remained ignorant and unmoved, it would be a fatal mistake to suppose that the change was confined to the preachings of political agitators. The fairly educated Indians were thoroughly dissatisfied with the old order of the things. The victories of Japan, the revolutionary movements in Turkey, Persia, China did not pass unobserved. A new and ominous suspicion that England had come to step in her liberalising mission made way..."[1]

The real motive of granting some reforms in India was not to give the people freedom, but to keep the Moderates with the Government. Lord Morley further says:

"In the first place it will tend to reconcile liberal opinion (not in party sense) here, and that is something. In the second place, it will make it easier for the Moderates to resist the Extremist's attack. Such an attack is sure to come and it is our business, as I think, not to do anything, that will give substance to Extremist taunts and reproach against their moderate opponents."[2]

It is then certain that Britain will not give any further concession to Indian people unless she is forced to do so for her own self-interest, to overcome the possible "menace" in international affairs. To be explicit, Britain is to-day seeking German friendship to strengthen her position in Europe. *There are many patches of dark clouds in the international horizon in Asia, and Britain may be forced to look for Indian friendship to strengthen her position. The situation in China, Anglo-Russian rivalry increasing Anglo-Japanese distrust, Anglo-Turkish relations, all clearly indicate that Great Britain urgently need "India's hand of friendship than menace."* Earl Reading clearly understands it and that is the very reason he has indicated that the British Government will be willing to re-examine the constitution of India in near future, provided the Indian statesmen co-operate with the Government. Earl Reading is reported to have said :

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[1] Morley, Viscount John: Recollections (Vol. II), p. 154.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 260.

> "But while I am sure that the present would be a most inappropriate moment to hold a statutory inquiry, I wish to re-emphasise what was made abundantly plain by the Secretary of State in his speech, that there is no special sanctity attaching to the year 1929. The re-examination of the Constitution may take place at any time not later than 1927 when the British Government are persuaded that there has been genuine co-operation by responsible Indian political leaders in working the existing Constitution and when sufficient experience of this new and still largely untried conditions has been gathered to form the basis of a considered judgment and to enable proposals for the future to be made with some confidence..."

Earl Reading's Government always tenaciously held that there could be no statutory enquiry to revise the constitution before the year 1929; and the present change of attitude is due to nothing else than the Swarajist ability to prove to the hilt that the diarchy is a complete failure. His Lordship has made it explicit that there will be an inquiry before the year 1927 and what is the reason for delay ? It is clear that the Government of India wishes to save its face by not giving in at once but agrees to give it before 1927 or after the General Election of 1926 when the British Indian Government expects that the Swarajists and Nationalists will have a great and overwhelming victory against the liberals and Governmental parties. The Government of India thinks that it will be a matter of wise statesmanship to give in for a statutory inquiry before 1927 provided the Swarajists or the Congress Party can secure a greater success at the poll. This will give the colour that the British people and the Parliament are always anxious to lead Indian people towards self-government and they will be glad to make further concessions to satisfy the popular demand in India expressed through the result of the General Election of 1926. Thus no Indian statesman of any party should talk lightly the fact that upon the result of the next General Election of 1926 largely depends the possibility of securing greater freedom for India.

In the meantime what is to be the answer of the Indian patriots who have political sense and who do not think that Indian freedom can be achieved only through "Charka," in reply to Earl Reading's 'invitation for co-operation with the Government'? As a statesman Earl Reading knows it well that no Government of India, in future can ever expect co-operation from the Indian nationalists on the basis of blind faith. In fact the Gokhale school of Indian statesmen who are generally classed as moderates never blindly followed the Government, they voted against the Government measures whenever their conscience dictated to do so for the interest of the people of India. It is also a fact that the British statesmen will have no respect for any Indian leader who will vote with the Government when the Government measures would not be for the best interest of the people. This being the case, the answer of the Indian nationalists who believe in participating in Councils, should be the course which was chalked out by India's great patriot the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak, in the simple phrase, "Responsive Co-operation," *i. e.*, to co-operate with the Government when it responds to the will of the people and to oppose the Government when it tries to act against the national interest of India. This creed of "Responsive Co-operation" cannot be disagreeable to any honest Indian patriot and any British statesman of any political party; because all British statesmen practise "Responsive Co-operation" to preserve British national interest, according to their best judgment.

Fortunately for India there is an indication that the Indian nationalists have started to practise "Responsive Co-operation" in the Indian Legislative Assembly by electing Mr. Patel of the Swarajist Party as the Chairman of the Assembly and at the same time passing Mr. Jinna's motion against British Government's Currency Policy in India and denouncing the appointment of six Englishmen and four Indians in the Currency Commission as subordinating Indian interest to that of Great Britian.[1] The further hopeful sign of the application of "Responsive Co-operation" outside the Assembly and Councils is the wise acceptance of membership of the Skeen Army Committee by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, the President of the Swarajya Party, in spite of criticism and opposition of some Indian nationalist papers. Pandit Moti Lal has accepted the offer of membership in the Army Committee appointed by the Government of India with the express purpose of presenting the view of the Indian nationalists, particularly the Swarajists, on the question of Indian National Defence and Indianisation of the Indian Army.

These are all hopeful signs. But it is imperative that the All India Congress should without delay endorse the

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SIMLA, *Augt.* 25.

[1] In the Legislative Assembly to-day Mr. Jinnah moved the adjournment of the House to call attention to the composition of the Currency Commission.

He said that the last Session the Government had accepted a proposal for an inquiry in which Indian interests would be adequately and effectively represented. That undertaking had not been fulfilled with six Europeans and only four Indians on the Commission. The public and Press felt that Indian interests were inadequately represented. The interests of England and India were in serious conflict, and he challenged the Finance Member, Sir Basil Blackett, to say whether the interests of India were not being sacrificed.

Sir Basil Blackett replied, "It is untrue."

The Bombay Swarajist, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, said it was notorious that Indian currency policy was dictated from England, and India had no confidence in the Indian members of the Commission. Another Swarajist declared loudly that it was the duty of Indians to boycott the Commission and treat it as untouchable.

Sir Basil Blackett strongly deprecated as unfair the belittling of the able Indians who had joined the committee. The 10 members had been selected in the interests of India alone. The Commission consisted of impartial men with wide knowledge and able to weigh evidence regarding the agricultural and every other interest. It would have the advantage of greater information of developments than the committtee of 1919, which, if it had possessed the knowledge now available, would have made different recommendations. He hoped the assembly would think twice before passing a resolution derogatory to members of the Commission in advance of their coming to India.

Sir Alexander Muddiman said that men of great reputation and standing would not serve on commissions relating to India if charged with partiality beforehand. This practice was growing and was injurious to the interests of India.

Mr. Jinna's motion was carried by 64 votes to 45, and the result was loudly cheered. —*The Times* (London), August 26, 1925.

programme of political action of "Responsive Co-operation" unreservedly so that All Indian nationalists will be able to unite under the banner of the All-India National Congress. It is also imperative that the Indian Nationalists should present a programme of Constitutional reform in place of the present constitution. This should be undertaken by the Congress and be presented to the Government of India, as an invitation to the Government of India by the Indian Nationalists to co-operate with them. This will serve as a notice to the Government of India that true co-operation between Indian people and the Government of India can never be an one-sided affair,—Indians submitting to the will of the Government of India, and the Government of India ignoring the popular demand. In this connection, it may be suggested that the All-India National Congress should support the Commonwealth of India Bill, unless it has some other bill of similar nature to take its place. This must be done in the Cawnpore session of the All-India National Congress to be held during the Christmas week of 1925, so that the British statesmen will know that India is determined to have a constitution of its own which will insure greater freedom to the people than what they enjoy to-day.

So far as we understand, the late Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das, had the idea of introducing "Responsive co-operation" as the creed of the Swarajya Party and of the Congress; this is our belief from the perusal of his speech at Faridpur which has been interpreted in various ways. Above all we find that in his last letter to Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, he has left a legacy to the Indian politicians which will be worthwhile to consider. It is quite clear from the last paragraph of this letter that if he lived long enough, he would have during the Cawnpore Congress either presented a constructive programme of a substitute constitution of India in place of the present Government of India Act or championed the Commonwealth of India Act, and secured the consent of the nation for its enactment as the supreme law of the land. He also would have concentrated all his efforts so that the Indian Nationalists would win the General Election of 1926 by making this demand as the principal issue of the campaign.[1]

The Charka programme of Mahatma Gandhi has its own merit. But talking about "Charka" and abandoning political action has been the greatest of the follies of the All-India National Congress. The late Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das saw it and dared to oppose Mahatma Gandhi and others since the Gaya Congress. He has left a national legacy in the form of victory of the Swarajists over the Government and this victory has induced the Government to promise a new statutory inquiry of the Constitution in near future. The most effective thing that can be done as an answer to the challenge of Earl Reading is to adopt "Responsive Co-operation" as the national programme. It may be that Mahatma Gandhi and some of the "no-changers" will cling to their programme of "Charka" but they have no ground now to oppose the change of tactics of the Congress when Mahatma

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[1] The last paragraph of the Memorandum left by late C. R. Das is as follows:—

"Desiring this, we demand the passage by the British Parliament either of the Commonwealth of India Bill, now before the country, or of a measure not less complete in giving India full control over her own affairs. If such a measure, failing of success in the ballot, should not be assigned time for full discussion, or should be rejected by Parliament in 1926, in the autumn of which year the General Election takes place in India, then the question of the refusal of all supplies to the Central and Provincial Government shall be made the crucial question, at the General Election in 1926, and a campaign shall previously be carried on in all constituencies, explaining the condition of affairs, the necessity of refusing supplies where the Government refuses the demand for freedom, and of the nature of the struggle which was proposed and its inevitable corollaries. Let the Nation herself decide at the polls whether she is ready to face such a struggle, or prefers to acquiesce in her continued serfdom, bearing the task of recovering her freedom to a nobler and more stalwart generation. To such a question there should be but one answer possible from every Indian worthy to be free. Not often is such an opportunity offered to the citizens of a Nation to win Liberty, once for all, without bloodshed, by their own inborn strength. Times of great decisions appal the weak but never the strong. Sons and daughters of India, Be Strong and Liberty is yours, to hand down to the coming generations."—*Swarajya* (Madras) July, 24, 1925.

Gandhi himself has shifted his own position and has announced to give the leadership of the Congress to the Swarajists who have the majority. National interest of India demands to-day that the programme of the All-India Congress shall be flexible as well as many-sided, so that all Indian nationalists —Swarajists, Independents and others—will be able to participate in it and be able to formulate a national demand. It is our firm belief that "Responsive Co-operation," if adopted as the programme of the Congress, will make possible a united action among the nationalists of India.

The creed of "Responsive Co-operation" in some form or other, has been the programme of all outstanding Indian Nationalists, from the days of Justice Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Ramesh Chandra Dutt, Gopal Krisna Gokhale, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, even Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the Tiger of Bengal. These great men co-operated with the Government only in those matters when it was to the interest of the nation to do so, and they never betrayed the trust. Sir Asutosh himself never directly participated in Indian politics, but he worked for freedom of India through building up the institution of higher learning—the Calcutta University—of his own province. He accepted the Government position of Vice-Chancellorship and built up Calcutta University, at times opposing the Government. He always refused to become a mere tool in the hands of the Government officials. If the Indian statesmen adopt the programme of "Responsive Co-operation" and at the same time refuse to act as Government agents, against the interest of the country, India will gain her promised freedom, within the British Empire, quicker than by any other method. Let us hope that Indian statesmen will have courage enough to acknowledge the mistakes of the recent years, and dare to adopt the path of "Responsive Co-operation" to gain the desired end—Freedom of India.

TARAKNATH DAS

Review

"**Demands Of Democracy,**" by Principal Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D.—printed by D. B. Taraporewala, Sons and Co., price Rs. 2, pp. 174.

Democracy is one form of government giving scope for the manifestation of popular sovereignty. But the legislatures of the Western democracies have been rightly characterised as "plunder bands." The tyranny ~~of the boss,~~ the iron-like grip of the party caucus, the unlimited power of the majority and the corruption of corporate wealth tend to make the parliamentary assemblies mere hot-houses for forcing laws with kaleidoscopic rapidity. These baneful forces are chiefly responsible for the devitalisation, breakdown and utter bankruptcy of the political machinery of their democratic governments. It is not the legislature alone that has been subject to the distrust of the people but even the administrative body has likewise incurred the displeasure of the electorate. The paramount necessity of checking the vagaries and inconsistencies of these bodies and the Courts of Law as well, leads to the forging of the popular weapons of democracy known as proportional representation, referendum, recall, plebiscite and popular initiative. If an educated, living and constructive democracy is to be realised these weapons have to be carefully wielded so as to make the will of the people fructify to the lasting benefit of the social organism.

The book under review is a clear, analytical and valuable summary of the means and methods by which the above weapons of democracy are being put to use in the countries of Switzerland, the Unitary States, Germany, Italy and France and other democratic states of the West. He incidentally mentions how the very same weapons can be used with much advantage in the present political condition of India. He advises the use of the right to recall administrative officials in case they run counter to the wishes of the people. According to him the referendum is the most potent weapon to unify the Indian people who are geographically, historically, linguistically, racially, and religiously divided from each other. The transfer of Berar and the redistribution of the present heterogeneous provinces into homogeneous units based on the linguistic principle can be easily accomplished by subjecting them to the poll of the people or holding plebiscites on these topics. Many of the social, religious, intercastal and material interests of the people can be secured by means of the initiative of the people.

In the present political situation of the country when representative democratic forms of government are being popularised at least in the restricted field of local self-government—the appearance of this little book is timely as it shows us the means to perfect this form of government and make it really government *of* the people, *for* the people, *by* the people. The present book has been kept within a moderate compass for it is written to suit the requirements of the student both with regard to its extent and its price. It would be a very useful book of reference for any class on politics for he has borrowed freely from all acknowledged authorities on this subject. A bibliography of useful books to facilitate further study on the part of the enquiring student increases the utility of this book to a great extent.

B. R.

The Newspaper Press Directory:—The 80th annual issue of the Newspaper Press Directory is a very comprehensive publication and has fully maintained its standard. A wealth of information on all matters connected with newspapers and other forms of journalistic activity is contained in this book. As in former issues, a good deal of prominence has been given to facts and statistics about trade, and in this connection a number of articles are included in the pages of the Directory, among them being one on Inter-Imperial Trade, dealing with the export trade of the country and its Empire Markets. The second year of Wembley affords Sir Travers Clarke an opportunity for summing up the imperial aspects of the great Exhibition, his impression being put into the neat phrase, "one touch of Wembley makes the whole Empire kin." The Directory contains carefully compiled classified lists of papers and periodicals published in Great Britain under their different headings of appeal, while the trade information preceding the newspaper information of each dominion of the Empire is complete in every detail.

The whole forms an invaluable record and should be included in the books of reference by every advertiser.

"The Newspaper Press Directory" is complied and published by the well known Advertising Agency, Messrs. C. Mitchell & Co., Ltd., 1, Snow Hill, London, E. C. 1. It contains over 650 pages.

Eskare.

FROM DARJEELING

When I Behold.

When I behold the infinite, far spaces,
Where range above range the Himalayas rise,—
The vistas of amaranthine and blue,
The snow-white peaks that reach into the sky,
Till Heaven and Earth seem blended into One—
I feel as small as the tiniest mote
Afloat in the sun-drenched, ambient air!
Then I remember this world is no more
Than a grain of sand, in God's Universe!
I think of the countless solar systems—
The unnumbered suns, moons, planets and stars,
All moving along in perfect rhythm,
All with mathematical precision
Keeping within their own appointed bounds.
When I recall the continents so vast,
That have been submerged in long ages past—
And the mountains that have been spewed aloft,
By some convulsion in the Mighty Deep—
The Islands that have sprung from out the Sea
Wondrous as Athen from the head of Jove!
When I recall the multitudes that die—
The hordes Death sweeps into oblivion,
Like worn-out rags into dust-heaps of Time—
I feel an atom in Life's whirling Sea,
Helpless to stem the tide that bears me on—
To what? To death, disintegration, nought!
Yet, am I an infinitesimal thing,
To be annihilated by the Hand
That formed me from the dust and bid me live?
Ah, no! 'tis but the mortal-mind that fears;

The flesh that shudders at the thought of death.
Can we picture ourselves as lying dead ?
With lips all mute, the life for ever fled ?
What is it flees ? And what beholds the form ?
Can we see ourselves as non-existent ?
Nay, verily ! We know there is no death
To Spirit, that like a light burns in the Soul !
The spark was planted in the embryo
That floated in the waters of the womb,
Until it quickened and came forth to light
In obedience to the spoken Word.
We know that these mountains will melt away,
That time shall be no more, nor seas, nor sky,—
That stars will fall, like ripe fruit from the trees,
And this old Earth a molten mass may be,
Yet, still will we exist, deathless, supreme,
Invincible eternal, One with God !

A Storm in Darjeeling.

Reverberant thunders clash their arms, and leap from crag to crag,
Where low-hung clouds, all great with rain, above the mountains sag.
The winds moan loud, the lightnings dart with awful stabs of pain,
Through the black clouds, and so release the rain, the pent-up rain !
Obscured the Hills, the sodden flowers low lie upon the ground,
All Nature seems submerged within a vortex of dire sound.
The Storm gods are at war above, the wind shriek mad with pain,
In blinding sheets, with roar and gush, falls down the rain, the rain !
And then,—a sudden hush, a calm, a stillness in the air,

As though from Heaven's minaret had come the call for prayer.
And there above the mountain tops, through clouds all grey and dun,
Burst out in radiant splendour the glory of the Sun!

Young Morning.

Young Morning passed along the Hills
In trailing robes of light...
She walked in beauty and in grace,
Through sapphire veils I glimpsed her face,
Fair as the Shulemite!
And will you stay your eager feet?
And will you rest awhile?—
"Nay, with my lover I hold tryst,"
Up there in Kenchinjunga's mist—
So I must hasten on my way,
To meet him ere the close of day—
She answered with a smile.

To the High Snow-Peaks.

Remote, sublime and glorious you stand,
As tho' hurled there by some Titanic Hand
When chaos reigned: then law and order came,
As in the East first shone the Cosmic Flame,
From whence all life and beauty had their birth.
Supreme you stand, a link 'twixt heaven and earth.
Wondrous your charm—your robe of ermine snows—
But . . . . nought God made so perfect, as a fragrant Rose!

A Thought of the Mist.

Out of the thick, grey mist that hung
A *purdah* over the earth,
A face slow evolved,—'twas the face of a friend—
And I knew it was so it must be at the end,
When we slip from our bodies of clay,
And in a new world have birth.

Back of the mist that now shrouds the view,
The mountains tower and shine—
And through the grey veil Death hangs o'er our eyes,
There will dawn for us a wondrous surprise,
When hands that we love will lift the veil,
And we'll greet the Vision Divine!

Oh, the mist is damp and cold and dread—
And my heart shudders with fear!—
But death is no more than a cold, grey mist,
That veils the glory of that world from this—
When we pass bravely through it I know,
We'll meet our loved ones so dear!

TERESA STRICKLAND

ON JUMNA'S BANK

(A translation)

The sun, there, sinks and sinks not yet,
From south the wind's ablow,
My love goes, stops and goes to fill
Her jar in Jumna's flow.
She dips her jar ; it sucks to brim ;
Those curves from girdle start,
Her shy quick eyes at random play
To still her bashful heart.
Her lifted jar's upon her side,
Her steps no art can gain,
How sweet upon her wavelets flow
Her way-ward veil to train.
Beneath that *Ba'ul*[1] her feet just rest,
On mine her eyes twain dart,
She smiles so sweet, she hides her face,
—A dagger digs my heart.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

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[1] "Bakul."

Ourselves

THE LATE PRINCIPAL SARADA RANJAN ROY.

We record with deep regret yet another death amongst the academicians in Bengal, that of Principal Sarada Ranjan Roy of the Vidyasagar College,—re-named after its illustrious founder. Principal Roy joined the private enterprise in 1887 and stood by the rudder till his death—an eventful period of about forty years. A mathematician of repute, a classical scholar of brilliance, Mr. Roy was a firm believer in the doctrine of *mens sana in corpore sano* and was the pioneer amongst the cricketeers of Bengal, combining sport with instruction. A vigorous administrator, an undaunted disciplinarian, Mr. Roy fought throughout his life for what he conceived to be true and right and Bengal will regret the disappearance of a great educationist from the field of serene academic activity. Our respectful condolence goes out to the bereaved family.

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THE HON'BLE MR. S. R. DAS.

The elevation of Mr. S. R. Das, the distinguished Advocate-General of Bengal, and a Fellow of this University to the throne of Macaulay and Maine is a matter of sincere congratulation to us. A scion of one of the most gifted families of Bengal, noted alike for its qualities of character and intellect, the new Law Member enjoys the reputation of being a sound lawyer and level-headed statesman. Bengal will follow with interest the career of the fourth Bengali Member of the Government of India.

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PRINCIPAL J. R. BANERJEA.

We heartily congratulate our esteemed friend and colleague Professor J. R. Banerjea on his appointment as Principal of the Vidyasagar College. A brilliant scholar and a veteran educationist, Professor Banerjea has taken a prominent part in the intellectual life of this province for more than a quarter of a century. Having topped the list of successful candidates at the M. A. Examination of 1888 in Philosophy, he served for three years from 1889-1891 as a Professor in the General Assembly's Institution, and joined the Metropolitan Institution, now Vidyasagar College, in 1893 as a Professor of English and Philosophy. Since that time he has devoted his whole energy and attention to the welfare of this institution. Mr. Banerjea became a Senator in 1910, and a Member of the Syndicate in 1913. He still occupies both the positions and has shown great courage, energy and devotion to duty. He was appointed Vice-Principal of the Vidyasagar College in 1909. It may be mentioned here that Mr. Banerjea is also a Councillor of the Calcutta Corporation. We have no doubt that under his able guidance the Vidyasagar College will maintain i's reputation as an important centre of learning in Calcutta.

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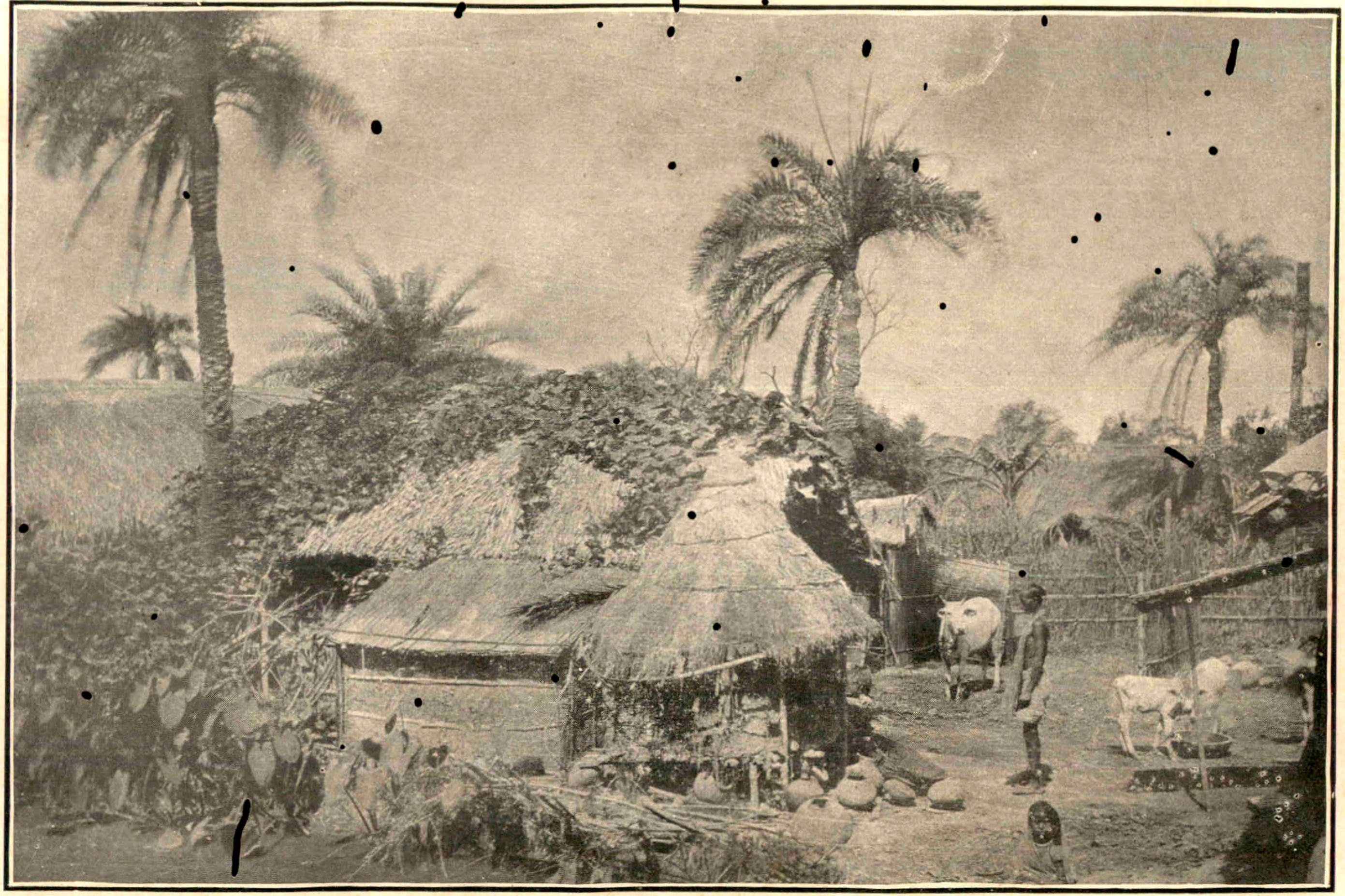
DR. GANES PRASAD.

Dr. Ganes Prasad, our brilliant Hardinge Professor of Mathematics, has recently been elected to the Academic Court of the Allahabad University. It was a tough fight and he had amongst his opponents Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Dr. Ganes Prasad, besides enjoying a world-wide reputation as a mathematician, is recognised as a man of sterling character and sturdy independence. The Allahabad electorate is to be congratulated on their appreciation of this aspect of the character of the great mathematician.



RURAL BENGAL

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1925

THE CALIPHATE: ITS DECLINE AND FALL

If we survey Muslim civilization in its entirety we shall notice, above everything else, the intimate connexion subsisting between it and the material conditions of its people and government.

Doubtless and clear emerges the fact that the high grade of civilization attained—a civilization which, on a superficial view, we are tempted to ascribe to intellectual forces at work—was mainly due to favourable social and economic conditions. The first condition of such a high civilization is the association of large groups of men in permanent habitations, and the confluence of material advantages to such established centres arising from such associations and leading to prosperity, refinement and luxury.

Large towns are the cradles of culture. What Mekka, Damascus and Baghdad stood for in the civilization of the Muslim Orient we have already shown.[1] They were the real homes of that wonderful efflorescence, material and spiritual—never attained since in the East—which we call Arab, but which may be more correctly styled Saracenic, civilization. For although the Arabs founded the Caliphate and ruled the largest portion of the then world, capable of civilization, it was by no means the genuine Arabs who, single-handed, solved the great world-problems of history. The civilization of the Caliphate was pre-eminently the civilization of that mixed race, which arose in large towns, by the gradual amalgamation of the Arabs and the subject races.

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[1] Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs* and '*Arab Civilization*,' Chapter V. (Heffer and Sons, Cambridge).

The Arabic language dominated the whole empire, and served as a binding tie. It helped forward the circulation of ideas. It built up a literature which, for fulness and variety, excelled by far the literatures of Hellas and Rome. Learned institutions, colleges, academies, libraries, observatories and hospitals arose in large towns, where intellectual efforts found warm and sponsoring support.

Already, under the first Abbasids, governors of some provinces had become semi-independent sovereigns; while those of others—founders of small dynasties—accepted, for a time, the shadowy overlordship of the Caliphs. But these, too, soon ruled in defiance and to the detriment of the Caliphs. This meant multiplication of the centres of intercourse, and this multiplication, or, more happily described, this process of disintegration, manifesting itself first in the outlying provinces, uninterruptedly continued.

While, at first, there was only a limited number of important towns, later we see their number increasing. With this multiplication of towns the Saracenic civilization secured greater and greater hold and diffusion.

How lively, in the hey-day of Islam, were the activities of the mind, and how engrossing was the passion for letters—what stimulating influence study and literature exercised over the peoples where the Arab conquerors firmly planted their standard and established their rule—is best evidenced by the fabulous rapidity with which their language, their literature, their poetry, their learning spread and struck root.

Next to Spain and Persia there is no other country which establishes so clearly this proposition as does Sicily. In an amazingly short time this island was largely Arabicized. In the towns—especially in Palermo, the seat of Arab government—a genuine Arab civilization (or, if you will, Saracenic civilization) blossomed forth, and Sicily quickly stepped forward with a creditable list of scholars and poets of her own. Many of these were of outstanding merit, and, in Arabic literature, are referred to as Sikilli, *i.e.*, the Sicilians.

Thus a common civilization seemingly kept intact what politically had gone to pieces. It momentarily stemmed the rushing tide of decentralization. But, when we weigh the advantages and disadvantages, the scale inclines towards the latter.

True, many of the princes and feudal chiefs who from time to time arose fostered art and letters. Look, for instance, at the different rulers of the House of the Buwayyids, individual Caliphs of the Fatamide line, and other distinguished magnates besides.

In their capitals they founded big libraries, where many a learned man, away from the vortex of the world, peacefully carried on his studies. Did not Avicenna work in the great library of Bukhāra ?

At the court of the rulers of Khwarizm lived the renowned Beruni, enjoying high favours and pursuing his researches into the specific gravity of the minerals. Another great scientist wrote for the Seljukian Sultan Sunjur (1117-1157) his "Scale of Wisdom,"—a treatise, which, carrying further the researches of Beruni, has, for its subject, the theory of weight and the construction of weighing instruments and machines intended for scientific purposes.

And numerous other works, composed at the instance of individual princes, or dedicated to them, attest the growth of literary and scientific activities amid advancing political decay and decentralization.

But we should not shut our eyes to the other side of the picture. The dynasties that so rapidly sprang up all over the

Islamic countries could not endure for long. Their extinction was as sudden, and not infrequently as violent, as their rise. The dismemberment was steady and uninterrupted.

Nor must we forget that in the midst of large Sultanats[1] subsisted quite a number of independent or semi-independent statelets, ruled by rich baronial chiefs who, from their strongholds, drained the resources of the country around, and who, in perpetual feuds with each other, destroyed the well-being of the masses.

The national economic decay becoming more and more widespread, cultural movements shrank within ever-narrowing circles.

True, the impoverishment and the social disorder consequent upon it, became more and more clearly marked in later times, but the beginnings of this slow decline are not altogether unnoticeable in the earlier days.

However burdensome the taxes in the empire of the Caliphs, levied upon people of other faiths, yet the simplicity of the system and the absence of all hindrances to free intercourse (such as custom-duties, imposts and transit-charges) for a time promoted and enlivened trade, and fostered a brisk interchange of commodities. But, all too early, these undoubted advantages were over-clouded and nullified by religious and political faction-fights, which devastated entire provinces.

Without entering minutely into the details of political history, let us turn to that account which one of the earliest and best informed writers gives of Iraq, as it was, towards the end of the Omayyad period, in consequence of the bloody conflicts between different parties, and ceaseless wars between the Government troops and the Kharijites. Devastating epidemics descended in swift succession. Famine and scarcity played their dismal rôle. To these misfortunes were added the lawlessness of footpads, robbers, cut-throats. In the towns, says Jahiz, people were reduced to the necessity of consuming human flesh.[1]

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[1] Khuda Bukhsh, *Politics in Islam*, pp. 224 *et sqq.*

These conditions, indeed, ended with the rise of the Abbasids, for they maintained order with a firm hand, and, through the wealth which poured into Baghdad and Samarra, and from there again into numerous other channels, they soon restored, in some measure, the prosperity and well-being of at least a portion of their empire.

But, despite all well-meaning efforts, pestilence and famine continually recurred. As this is a fact of especial importance, from the point of view of the history of civilization, I shall here give a list of *these*, collected from original sources. They suggest some interesting thoughts.

A.H.	A.D.	
17	638	Famine in Hijaz (Dhahabi).
18	639	The plague of Emmaus (Ta'un 'Amwas), spreading from Palestine to Syria and Iraq. Said to have claimed 25,000 victims. (Dhahabi, Ibn Athir).
50	670	Epidemic in Kufa (Ibn Athir Ibn, Taghribardy).
65	684-5	The so-called universal plague in Basra (Ta'un Garif, Ibn Athir).
66	685-6	Pestilence (Waba) in Egypt (Dhahabi).
69	688-9	General pestilence (Aghani, XI, 124, Ibn Kutaiba). Dhahabi also speaks of a pestilence in Basra.
79	698-9	Plague (Ta'un) in Syria. (Dhahabi Ibn Athir, Ibn Taghribardy).
80	699-700	General pestilence in Syria, Iraq, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Hijaz (Masudi, V, 384).

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[1] Jahiz, *Kitabul-Haiwan*, Fol. 67, 106. It seems that the band of cut-throats did their worst at the time of the insurrection of Mughira Ibn Sa'ad against the Omayyads, when, in Iraq, the greatest anarchy prevailed. *Cf.* Ibn Kutaiba, p. 300, who looks upon the band of cut-throats as the supporters of Abu Mansur-al-Kisf.

A. H.	A. D.	
86	705	Plague in Syria, Iraq, specially in the towns of Wasit and Basra (Ibn Kutaiba, Ibn Athir).
87	706	Plague in Basra (Ibn Athir).
100	718-9	Plague (Ibn Kutaiba).
107	725-6	Plague and cattle-plague in Syria (De Goeje, Frag. 89).
108	726-7	Plague in Syria (Ibn Athir).
114	732-3	Plague in Wasit (Ibn Athir).
115	733	Plague in Syria (Ibn Taghribardy).
116	734	Plague in Iraq, specially in Wasit (Ibn Taghribardy).
126	743-4	Plague (Ta'un) and epidemic (Waba) in Africa (Ibn Athir). According to Ibn Adary it began in 129 A. H., and lasted for seven years.
127	744-5	Plague in Syria (Ibn Taghribardy I, 338).
137	747-8	Plague in Basra (Ibn Athir).
131	748-9	Plague in Basra (Ibn Taghribardy, Ibn Kutaiba).
134	751-2	Plague in Ra'i (Ibn Taghribardy I, 347).
135	752-3	Plague in Syria (Ibn Kutaiba).
158	775	Epidemic (Waba) Ibn Athir.
166	782-3	Epidemic in Baghdad and Basra (Goeje, Frag. I, 279).
167	783-4	Epidemic in Baghdad and Basra (Ibn Athir, Dahaby).
197	812-3	Famine in Spain (Ibn Athir).
200	815-6	Epidemic in Baghdad and the Syria deserts (Ibn Taghribardy, II, 188).
201	816-7	Famine in Ra'i, Isphahan and Khorasan (Ibn Athir).
207	822-3	Famine in Iraq (Ibn Athir).
232	846-7	Famine in Spain (Ibn Athir).
251-55	865-869	Famine in Spain (Ibn Athir).
258	871-2	Epidemic (Waba), Plague in the Tigris district, in Baghdad, Wasit and Samarra (Ibn Athir). Plague in Ahwaz and Iraq.

A.H.	A.D.	
		Begins in Askar Mukram, spreads over the whole of the Euphrates Territory up to the Syrian borders as far as Karkisiyya (Hamza Ispahani, 190).
260	873-4	General famine, plague (Ta'un), Epidemic (Waba) in Maghrib, Spain (Ibn Athir).
264	877-8	Plague in Khorasan and Kumis (Ibn Athir).
266	879-80	Famine in Africa. Scarcity in Hijaz, Iraq, Mosul, Jazira, Syria (Ibn Athir).
288	900-1	Plague in Adherbaijan (Ibn Athir, Dahaby).
300	912-3	Epidemic in Baghdad and in the Syrian deserts (Ibn Taghribardy).
319	931	Epidemic in Baghdad (Ibn Taghribardy II, 243).
323	935	Famine in Khorasan (Ibn Athir).
324	936	Plague in Ispahan (Ibn Taghribardy II, 280) and famine in Persia (Hamza Ispahani).
329	940-1	Epidemic and famine in Iraq.
330	941-2	Famine and epidemic in Iraq (Ibn Athir). Epidemic and famine in Baghdad (Dahaby).
332	943-4	Famine in Baghdad (Ibn Athir).
334	945-6	Famine in Baghdad (Ibn Athir, Dahaby, Ibn Taghribardy).
343	954-5	Great pestilence in Khorasan and Jibal (Ibn Athir).
344	955-6	Epidemic (typhoid) in Ispahan, Ahwaz and Baghdad (Hamza Ispahani).
347	958-9	Pestilence in Jabal (Ibn Athir).
358	968-9	Famine in Iraq (Ibn Athir) many inhabitants emigrate.
377	987-8	Great famine in Baghdad (Dahabi).
382	992-3	Great famine in Baghdad.
395	1004-5	Pestilence and epidemic lasting till 396 A. H. (Ibn Adary, 267).
406	1015	Pestilence in Basra (Uyun-ul-Tawarikh, Fol. 8).

This list, however incomplete, is enough to enable us to draw important inferences. The striking fact, first and foremost to note, is that, of the 40 great epidemics which appeared in the course of four centuries, no less than 22—that is more than half—either began in or visited Iraq. Twelve times Syria was victimized, but North Arabia, which, to-day, is the hot-bed of cholera, appears but once as the scene of a great epidemic. In Iraq—pre-eminently in the town of Basra, situated at the mouth of the Tigris, and, next to it, at Kufa, Wasit, finally Baghdad—the pestilence raged oftenest and fiercest.

These epidemics have an important bearing on political conditions and, as such, on the social and economic interests resulting therefrom. The first great pestilence of the year 18 A. H. (635 A. D.) coincides exactly with the conclusion of the Syrian conquest. Fierce and wasteful were its ravages, for the loss of manhood meant neglect of land, which was left fallow and forlorn. Famine joined hands with epidemic; nay, with a veritable plague (Ta'un) which made its way even into Iraq. The Arab commanders—mindful of the health of the troops—forthwith removed them from their garrisons into the mountains and the deserts, until the plague was over.[1]

From the year 50 A. H. (670 A. D.) epidemics become violent and frequent. In fact they recur every ten years.

Syria and Iraq are specially the scenes of their visitations. They come one after another until the middle of the second century of the Hegira, when we notice a longer interval. It is precisely at this time that, with the accession of the Abbasids, a series of fierce wars in Syria and Iraq come to an end (132 A.H. 750 A.D.). To be absolutely precise, a pestilence does show itself in the years 134 and 135 A.H., but henceforth, until the beginning of the third century, the interval becomes distinctly longer. The struggle for the Caliphate between Mamun and his brother Amin, which was most ruthless in Iraq, and which led to a long siege of Baghdad, called forth epidemics there, as also in other parts of the empire. Famine and scarcity, henceforth, show themselves periodically at the capital of the Caliphate. But, throughout the whole of the third century of the Hegira, pestilence is conspicuously rare. With the beginning of the fourth century of the Hegira epidemics at Baghdad follow one another in swift succession, and, with them, the scourge of famine and its horrible accompaniments. This state of affairs is naught but infallible proof of far-reaching social and economic decay. Nor, as regards the general prosperity, must we overlook the catastrophic consequences resulting from the splitting up of the empire into numerous half-sovereign states. In the days of the single empire there were, of course, no customs-barriers. Commerce was everywhere free. The new states, however, began altering this. Customs and tolls were levied everywhere. This naturally hampered that free intercourse which had formerly rendered the empire so prosperous.

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[1] Ibn Athir, II, 237.

Even the smallest provincial dynasty strove to increase its revenue. New taxes were imposed, and consumption duties (mokus), unknown to the old Administrative Law of Islam, were levied. Also transit-tolls, thus hampering trade and raising prices. The rural population was mercilessly ground down to the dust. These ominous symptoms—common enough in all decaying communities—nowhere stand out so distinctly as they do in the history of the East.

A few examples will suffice.

The Aghlabides soon managed to convert the governorship of Africa into a hereditary kingship—independent of the Caliph—stopping even the annual tribute payable to Baghdad. Of a ruler of this dynasty we are told that he raised the land-tax to 18 dinars (180 francs) for every feddan of land—an amount wholly beyond the capacity of the tenants to pay.[1]

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[1] Ibn Athir, vi, 231. The *feddan*, in modern Egypt, is equal to 4,500 square-meters. This tax therefore meant 1 franc per every 25 square meters.

That elsewhere matters were no more cheerful is proved by a report regarding the Hamadanides who ruled North Syria and a portion of Mesopotamia. The town of Nisibin formed part of their dominion. Most happily situated in an exceedingly fertile plain—abundantly watered by neighbouring mountain springs and artificial canals—it possessed immense gardens, plantations and cultivable lands. Under early Arab rule the town largely retained its former prosperity, and numerous cloisters in its environs were uninterfered with. One hundred thousand dinars (about a million francs) was the tax payable to the Central Government. But in the year 360 A. H. a change took place. The Prince, within whose dominion Nisibin lay, so overloaded it with taxes and imposts that the Arab tribe of Banu Habib—quite a large body of men—despite the fact that they were related to the ruling Hamadanide family—resolved to migrate and take shelter in the Byzantine Empire. Thus, with their families, their cattle, their shining arms and weapons—riding on fine chargers—they left their homes and went over to the Byzantine territory. Without one single exception they (some twelve thousand men) embraced the Christian faith. By kind treatment the Byzantine Emperor sought to attach them to him. To them, therefore, lands were granted, and concessions were made. To those that remained behind the migrants wrote of their good luck and kind treatment, with the result that many more joined them. To avenge the oppressions they had endured they undertook predatory expeditions in Muslim lands, and captured some important fortifications, such as Hisn Mansur, Hisn Ziyad, and besieged Kafr-Tuta and Dara. Every year, at harvest time, these incursions were repeated. They went even as far as Nisibin and beyond, to Gazirat-i-Ibn Omar, Ras-al-'Ain, Balis, and further still.[1]

No further comment is necessary to bring home to the reader the importance of this information. Intolerable must have been the position to induce a whole tribe thus to abandon their home and to migrate to a foreign country; nay, even to change their faith—at a time, too, when Islam proudly looked down upon the degenerate Christianity of the Byzantines!

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[1] Ibn Haukal, Fol. 140. The text is badly damaged.

For those that remained behind still harder days dawned. The Hamadanide, Nasir-al-Dowlah, confiscated the lands of the migrants, took possession of most, partly by agreement and partly by force, and, instead of fruit, caused cereals, such as rice, cotton, etc., to be cultivated thereon. He put obstacles in the way of further migrations, and introduced the *Muqasamah* system, under which the land-produce was to be delivered either in kind or in gold as previously assessed.

Our informant, who speaks his own mind, adds: "Worse still was the position of the Nisibins under the son of this prince, for the capricious taxation and division of the produce mostly consumed the harvest, leaving nothing more than was just enough to eke out a sorrowful existence."

To show that this was not an isolated case, but merely an instance of the many methods of financial exploitation in fashion, I shall cite a passage from the diary of the Spanish traveller, Ibn Jubair, who relates, with indignation, how the pilgrims, on their arrival in Alexandria, were cruelly oppressed by the Egyptian custom-officers. He tells us that, even before they disembarked, Government officers boarded the ship, took down the names of every single pilgrim, and mercilessly exacted the poor-tax (zakat) from them. Then they brought the pilgrims and their luggage to land, and most minutely examined everything. In the confusion that ensued many of these unfortunates lost their belongings. He adds that the Just Saladin who then ruled Egypt would surely have ended these malpractices had he been informed of them. In another passage he tells us that this very prince actually removed the pilgrim-tax which was formerly collected in the harshest manner at Aidab, the sea-port on the Red-Sea whence the pilgrims embarked for Jedda. This tax meant 7½ Egyptian dinars per head—about 75 francs.

He who was unable to pay suffered the cruellest punishment. Even in other places pilgrims were systematically exploited, and were looked upon as welcome objects of taxation.

Happy exceptions there may have been. Thus a traveller [1] describes the kingdom of the Samanides in the most flattering terms. Whether or no personal motives played any part in this transaction, such an exception—if exception there was—was very rare. In most of the towns that grew up under the shadow of the Caliphate the very worst feature of the art of Government came prominently to light, namely, extortion of money without any regard to the interest or welfare of the people, and the squandering of money, so extorted, in unprofitable directions.

Nothing is more frequent in the geographies of later times, when a town is mentioned, than the addition of the words: *It is now for the most part desolate and in decay.* The taxes were collected with pitiless severity. Such as fell into arrears had to carry heavy stones round their necks, or to stand for hours in the scorching sun, or to suffer tortures in other equally cruel ways.[2]

The magnates of the Empire abused their position in boundless profiteering. They either took leases of entire districts from the Government, and systematically drained and impoverished them, or they carried on usurious trade in corn, thereby raising the prices of food-stuffs. The military fiefs did the rest in ruining the prosperity of the masses.

With this continually augmenting economic decay another factor kept pace—a sure sign of social sickliness. More and more, with the passing years, the race, which had founded and maintained the Empire, lost its old sense of nationality. Precisely in the same ratio as the Arab towns-folk lost their old tribal virtues, there awoke in the conquered peoples—notably in the Persians—a national movement directed against Arab rule and the Arabic language. This movement—helping on decentralization and the break-up of the Muslim Empire—first began in the courts of the Eastern dynasties—the Samanides and the Ghaznavids. Firdausi's epic is the clearest indication of this new, awakening spirit, which soon laid its spell over the whole of Persia—gradually displacing the Arab element and eventually securing the defection of the Eastern lands of the Caliphate.

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[1] Ibn Haukal, 341.

[2] Compare the fiscal oppressions in the Byzantine Empire. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vol. III, 615-616; Vol. IV, 29-30; 407, 427-30.

The more wretched the position of those Muslims who were still under the direct rule of the Caliphs, the more noticeable also became the general political demoralization.

People lost their sense of duty to the State, and the rulers, equally so, towards the ruled. Shining examples of heroic self-sacrifice for their country's cause—such as Greek and Roman antiquity furnish—are, indeed, rare in history; for an unwavering sense of duty to the State and the community is only possible and conceivable among a highly cultured people. And such glorious instances are not absent among the Arabs. Only, this lofty sense of duty was closely woven with religious mentality—the Muslim State being as much a religious as a political institution. Therefore religious enthusiasms and patriotic sentiments were inseparably wedded in Islam. The Arab warrior of the first century who fought undaunted unto death for his people and his faith was swayed equally by religious sensibility and old-inherited national pride.

Such incomparable forces are as important for the continuance as for the material prosperity of the State. Neither the one nor the other can be done away with. But gradually these forces slackened and spent themselves. As a direct consequence of contact with foreigners national pride vanished, leaving naught but the religious tie as the one and only bond uniting the immense brotherhood of Islam. But lively intellectual activities, rise of religious sects, disturbing doubts and scepticism, political chaos—these loosened even this one remaining tie—the religious tie of a common faith. Naught but *vis inertiae* now sustained the Empire.

Religion degenerated into superstition and fanaticism, stifling intellectual activity and spiritual life. The masses became more and more callous and apathetic to the common weal, and the Empire of the Caliph dissolved into countless fragments. Of these severed fragments only a few possessed vigour or vitality.

Not until the crusades is the dormant spirit of Islam again stirred to its depths. Aroused and aflame, it asserts itself in wild fury against the Christians—uniting, in a common cause, under the impulse of religious fervour, some of the scattered Muslim powers. But, effected under external pressure, this momentary return to vitality disappeared with the reasons that had brought it into being. Lacking all intellectual stimulus, and bereft of all political vitality, the Muslim world henceforward continues in a morbid listlessness, while the State-fabric of the Caliphate slowly but surely crumbles into dust.

Thus ends Arab civilization!

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE JAIN TEMPLE AND JAINISM

Certainly the most magnificent and at the same time the purest specimen of eastern architecture, is found in the Jain Temple, Calcutta, erected in 1867 by Rai Buddree Dass Bahadoor, Mookim and Court Jeweller to the Government of India.

It is difficult to convey any adequate idea of the delicate beauty, the perfect symmetry and idealistic surroundings of this perfect piece of architecture that is at once the pride and ornament of the Jain community and a fitting memorial to its great founder.

The visitor will have no difficulty in locating this temple. The main entrance is from Rai Buddree Dass Bahadoor's Temple Street. Immediately on entering the visitor is struck with the artistic setting of the temple grounds. Directly before him is the garden in the centre of which is a beautiful fountain. Diverging from the centre and intersecting the garden in all directions are narrow paths, paved with delicate mosaic work, while numerous flower beds, bright in their setting of red and gold add an additional beauty to the scene.

At one end of the garden stands the temple, the great centre of attraction. It is built in the Jain style of northern India and is dedicated to Sitalnathjee, the tenth of the twenty-four Jain Tirthankaras or prophets. It is entered by a flight of wide marble steps which lead to the body of the temple. Overhead is a triple-arched roof of variegated glass of a very intricate and beautiful design. Surrounding the main structure on three sides is a fairly wide ornamented verandah, which in common with the walls of the temple is decorated with mosaic work.

The sanctuary is in three sections, in the innermost of which is placed the sacred image of Tirthankara. This part of the temple is certainly the most beautiful. The outer sections are paved with marble and are exquisitely ornamented from floor to ceiling. The effect being heightened by the lavish gilding of the columns and ceiling. The walls of the Sanctuary and its two aisles are tessellated and ornamented with mosaic in pietra-dura interspersed with glass and stone work of various designs. From the ceiling hangs a magnificent chandelier with over a hundred branches, and when this is lit the scene within the temple is one that recalls forcibly the fairy-like splendour of fabled courts of the Arabian Knights. Alongside the temple is another structure built on the same principle, with a wide range of pillars, this is the Rest House of the Jain priests. It is here their religious discussions take place and their annual festivals are held. This structure was built by the founder of the Jain Temple to commemorate the memory of his mother.

The Jains form a very large part of the commercial population of Calcutta and something of the history of their religious beliefs will prove interesting.

The founder of Jainism was Vardhamana, the son of Siddharatha, the head of a Kshatriya class called the Natas or Nayas, who had settled at Kollaja, one of the three remaining portions of the once powerful city of Vesali. Vardhamana or Mahavira was born about 599 and died about 527 B.C. His greatest rival was Buddha, who lived between 557 and 477 B.C. Both were sons of petty princes and both commenced their mission amid the Kshatriyas, and both laboured and taught within very much the same parts of India. While Buddha acquired illumination by contemplating on the miseries of mankind, Mahavira adopted the bolder method of absolute nudity as an essential in the path of super-consciousness. From his name—Mahavira, the "Great Hero" and Jina, "the spiritual conqueror," we have "Jain" the name selected by his followers.

Romesh Chandra Dutt, C.I.E., in his "Civilisation in Ancient India" thus described the birth of Jainism in India, "The Jainas, both Svetambaras (with white clothing), and Digambaras (without clothing), alleged that Mahavira, the founder of the religions, was the son of Sidhartha of Kundagram, and belonged to the clan of Jnatrika Kshtiryas. We know that Gautama Buddha, when travelling in Kotigrama, was visited by the courtesan Ambapali and the Lichchavis. This Kotigrama is identified with Kundagrama of the Jainas, and the Natikas spoken of in the Buddhist Scriptures are identified with the Jnatrika Kshtriyas. Further, Mahavira's mother Trissa is said to have been the sister of Kataka, king of Vaisali, whose daughter was married to the renowned Bimbisara, king of Magadha.

Mahavira, at first called Vardhamana or Jnatiputra, was like his father a Kasyapa. At the age of twenty-eight he entered into the Holy Order, and after twelve years of self-mortification, became a Kevalin or Jina, Tirthankara or Maha-Vira, *i.e.*, a saint and prophet. During the last thirty years of his life he organised his order of ascetics. He was thus a rival of Gautama Buddha, and is mentioned in Buddhist writings under the name of Nataputra as the head of the Niganthas (Nirgranthas, without clothing), already a numerous sect in Vaisali, Mahavira died at Papa.

The Jaina tradition goes on to say that in the second century after Mahavira's death there was a famine in Magadha. The renowned Chandragupta was then the sovereign of Magadha. Bhadrabahu, with a portion of his Jaina followers, left Magadha under pressure of the famine and went to Karnata. During his absence, the Jainas of Magadha settled their scriptures, consisting of the eleven Angas and the fourteen Puvvas, which latter are sometimes called the twelfth Anga. On the return of peace and plenty, the exiled Jainas returned to Magadha; but within these years a difference in custom had arisen between those who had stayed in Magadha, and those who had gone to Karnata. The former had assumed a white dress, and the latter adhered to the old rule of absolute nakedness. The former were thus called Svetambaras, the latter were called Digambaras. The scriptures which had been settled by the former were not accepted by the latter, and for the Digambaras therefore there are no Angas. The final division between the two sects is said to have taken place in 79 or 82 A.D."

Neither Buddhism nor Jainism are religious orders in strict sense of the word. They are rather monastic organisations. In company with the Buddhists the Jains believe that man can be perfected by unremitting discipline, and that by the subjugation of the senses the soul can be liberated from its earthly ties. Time for them proceeds from two eternally recurring cycles of immeasurable duration, an "ascending" and a "descending" cycle, each being subdivided into lesser cycles of "yugas," commencing from the "descending" there are six stages, *i.e.*, the "bad-bad," "bad-good," "Good-Bad," "good" and "good-good." According to the Jains the world is at present in the "bad" stage.

It is still a popular error that Jainism and Buddhism originated in a revolt against the supremacy of the Brahmins. This is not so although both orders have rejected the Vedas of Brahminism. Jainism is really a monastic order and the revolt against the parent faith seems to have resulted from the tendency of the Brahmins to confine the religious order of mendicants to their own caste. Jain mendicants are of various castes and the Jain layman participates in the spiritual benefits emanating from the monastic order. This is not the case with Buddhism. The Buddhist layman is not in communion with the monastic body and may in fact attach himself to any other religious body without losing what the Buddhist order has to offer. He is in fact a free agent. Buddhism being more of a social than a religious conception of life. This divergence of opinion accounts for the gradual disappearance of Buddhism when the Mohammedan conquerors burst over India, and the survival of Jainism to the present day.

Of the doctrine of "absolute nudity" preached by the founder of Jainism, practically nothing exists. The only form in which it is found at the present time is in the question of the clothing or absence of clothing on images although there still exist certain sections of both male and female religious orders who divest themselves of all clothing, being content to sprinkle their bodies with ashes.

AUGUSTUS SOMERVILLE

TIME

Set upon the finger
Of woman, man and child,
Gleams a golden circlet,
Pure and undefiled.
'Tis the precious, passing hour,
Sixty diamond minutes crowned;
Yet how oft the circlet falls,
Heedless, on the stony ground,
Passed, unnoticed, on the way—
Lost, but never found.

Resting on the high brow
Of woman, man and child,
Glistens bright the jewel,
Hand hath not defiled.
There three lustrous gems outshine:
Pearl of youth with peerless sheen,
Manhood's sparkling sapphire ray,
Diamond of old age, serene;
Yet how soon these priceless gems,
Listless, fall unto the ground,
Mingling with the sordid dust—
Lost, but never found.

H. W. B. MORENO

MAHATMA GANDHI ON CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES

While keeping religiously aloof from the British Government, Mahatma Gandhi has been, of late, almost generous in his aspiration to meet the British people, and to discuss, with them, the creeds and credentials of their faith, whether economic or religious. Whether this obvious disparity strikes him down as imitating the enigmatic in public life or embarrasses his political sense in the eyes of the scholastic, is only a curious question. What is, of supreme importance for us at the moment, is to make sure, if such meetings have any serious indication about the future, whether of the political or of the religious situation in India. Do they tell us, in any shape or form, what the future of Christianity or Hinduism is likely to be, or how the future relation between the Indian and the Christian communities would stand? To the impatient and the nervously watchful, gaping for a break in the present tension, it might seem as if the apostle of Non-co-operation was seriously sontemplating a drastic change; and perhaps, even to the sophisticated the Christian missionary might appear, after a prolonged silence, to be resolved upon a more humane and less exclusive social existence. But is there any legitimate ground for hoping that agreements might have accumulated, in the course of the night, between the two communities sufficiently to dispel the atmosphere of prejudice and misunderstanding and to introduce the era of goodwill and understanding in its place?

The point of this article is to suggest that no such ground has arisen, and no hope, for a joint and co-operative life, between the two communities can be seriously entertained before the sky has been swept clean of the long-cherished prejudices which are still glaring like the red hot-day. The "meetings," of course, were bound to take place; and, it is all to the good, that they did. What is much more, they might well be supposed to have carried the political life in India, at least, one stage further. But it would, not only, be a mistake but dangerous to think that they were, in any way, constructive in their achievement. There are meetings and meetings. Some are, clearly, the source and origin of separation, the beginning of a keener struggle than ever before; while, others, unmistakably bring a long and painful misunderstanding to a close. To my mind, the net result, at any rate the tendency of Mahatma's meetings with the Non-official Europeans, religious or political, has been, on the whole, to accentuate the struggle between the two communities by making then self-conscious and quick. Never before, was the incompatibility between the contending faiths and communities so obvious, keen and patent; but, as I have already said, it is all to the good, as it clearly, at any rate, means relief from the shackles of sentimentalism and freedom from the illusions of blind dogmatism. Nothing, indeed, chokes the course of progress so much as the nebulous virtuousity of sentimentalism; and who can deny the agonising perpetuity of dogmatic blindness?

But my reasons will not be clear before I have not only suggested an analysis of the object and examined the possible motive of the gathering, but also, shown how much of them was actually realised. What, then, were the object and the motive of the gathering ?

The Object and the Motive.

Evidently, the ostensible object of the meeting was to listen to Mahatma Gandhi on the claims of Christianity, in general, and of the Missionary propaganda, in particular. Mahatma Gandhi was very cordially invited to come and address the Missionaries in the Y. W. C. A.; and no less a person than the Principal of the Serampore College, Doctor

G. Howells was in the chair. But what was the real object? And what again was the motive at the back of it? Here we are not, I am afraid, treading on open and clear grounds; on the contrary, we are left, very much, to our own conjecture. But in any case, it will be a mistake to suppose that there was one clear motive and only one, before the whole assembly. On the contrary, perhaps, the motives were as diverse as the members of the assembly were many-opinioned. Personally, I could think of many possibilities, *viz.*:—

(*a*) It might have been, simply, a hope to see if Mahatma Gandhi recognised Christ, in the same manner, as the Christians did. The present-day Christian, to select only a special type, thinks, it would be easy for him to contemplate salvation for the humanrace with Mahatma Gandhi inside the Christianfold rather than outside it. But this is almost a personal question; and only incidentally bears on the scepticism in the Christian community. Or

(*b*) It might have been a desire, simply, to get from Mahatma Gandhi, some advice as to how the Missionary propaganda could be made more acceptable to the Indian community. The invitation might well have been a counsel of despair, born out of a frank disappointment at the failure of the propaganda. Or

(*c*) It might have been only a mood, or an attempt, shrewdly conceived, to outflank Mahatma Gandhi in a truly strategic manner. Surely it is no discredit to militant Christianity to suggest that, perhaps, it boldly conceived the idea of coercing Mahatma Gandhi into the Christianfold, either by argument or by character. The old proverb about Love and War still rings true and claims the allegiance of the Church no less than that of the State. Or

(*d*) It might have been the result of an honest desire on the part of the "advanced" inside the Christian church to know Hinduism straight from the fountain-head, instead of from a "Christian brother." The scientific spirit or the historical attitude might have ruled out the theological mind or the evangelical mood.

(*e*) Lastly, it might have been, simply, a reply to Mahatma Gandhi's hearty invitation to "the Delhi Conference," a graceful recognition of his politeness and decency.

I shall not wait, as I said, to localise the motive; nor shall I be surprised if it was multi-coloured as all life in an assembly generally is; and the general situation is, by no means clear.

But what was the real object of the meeting? Here we are on safer grounds; and one can almost be sure, that, in some form or other, it might have been to bring the two communities together in a closer bond, sooner if not later; and a very little thought will show how the main-spring of such an object must have been a craving for some life of brotherhood, fellowship and love, either through the medium of Christianity preferably; or if necessary, by some other medium yet to be known. The point is, there has been of late too much stress and strain as life on the whole has pressed too hard; and relief from tension, intense as it was, has been anxiously awaited, by at least the majority of any religious body. Besides, what is truly remarkable, the sense of even dependence on one's own 'opponent,' side by side with a discontent in one's own faith, has steadily grown, so that it would not, at all, be exaggerating the truth to say that, perhaps, they were fast nearing a sense of acute crisis.

But if this was, more or less, the object of the meeting; and if one could suppose that the motives whatever they might be did not, necessarily, over-cloud its serenity, what impression could the speech which Mahatma Gandhi delivered in the Y.W.C.A. leave on the Missionary mind?

An Account of Mahatma's View.

Mahatma Gandhi, as usual, was precise, open and thoroughly sympathetic in his outlook; and the view that he expressed, held, as it was, on a whole life's experience, both strenuous and searching, stood like a mirror to those who sought it. The note struck in every line of it rang with anxiety for a meeting of hearts and an escape from the misery of life. No missionary could be more anxious for fellowship, brotherhood and love than the Mahatma was. But it was concise and brief; and dealt with only two questions; and that too in a very broad way. The questions were:—

(1) Christianity, as a force and power in India.

(2) Christianity, as preached and practised in India.

According to Mahatma Gandhi, Christianity or more properly "the Bible" is not a force and power in India, to anything like the same extent, as it is claimed, by the Missionaries, to be; nor is it, in the same sense, as the 'Geeta' or the 'Koran' is; or as the 'Bible' is, in the land of its birth or adoption. No doubt, attempts have been made, for over a century, to replace the 'Geeta' by the 'Bible' both with energy and faith; but in Mahatma's opinion they have utterly failed as they were bound to. To put it succinctly, the "*living Christ*" could not, and did not take the place of the "*living Rama or Krishna.*" And what may sound almost pathetic, the attempted hierarchy of religious prophets with Christ on the top, fell like a house of cards. This, however, need not cast any reflection upon the honesty or the *boná fide* of the attempt, even Rev. Andrews, as will appear from an article in Bishop Temple's paper "*The Pilgrim,*" cherishes such a faith. What, indeed, was lacking was not a *boná fide* but a backbone; perhaps, as Mahatma Gandhi might say, that it arose from a mistaken notion about the "*living Christ*"—*may be due to Christ himself*—or about Rama or Buddha, due certainly to their followers. But this meant clearly a failure of Christianity with its imperial and universal claim as the only religion for the whole of the human race; Mahatma Gandhi exposed a sterility in the whole conception of the Missionary propaganda. Is it not rather a painful situation or a belated disillusionment?

But what are the evidences and reasons for this failure? Why does Mahatma Gandhi hold such a view? Was it only a mere opinion of Mahatma Gandhi, a sudden outburst of some sectarian repression?

Evidences :—

(*a*) Like all other religions, Christianity is a mass of contradictions; and where contradiction exists, conviction fails to appear. Diverse interpretations of a dogma or a creed, conflicting with one another, may not overwhelm the believer, but they are fatal to conscription or conversion as you please, if it is inclined to be genuine and true.

(*b*) Even fifty years of untiring efforts, at once sincere, honest and sentimental, to convert Mahatma Gandhi to the Christian faith, unfortunately, bore no fruit; and, as if, that was not a sufficient calamity, Mahatma Gandhi's insistent personal search for the confirmation of the Imperial claim both in the literature and experience of the Christian church proved equally unavailing. The total result, in the end, after all this strenuous endeavour, was no bigger than a mere impression, however true; and nowhere, near a deep conviction, so wholly essential for the in-rooting of a foreign faith. We shall quote from Mahatma Gandhi:—

"I told Mr. Banerjee, 'I have come to you as a seeker'—this was in 1901—'I have come to you in fulfilment of a sacred promise I have made to some of my dearest Christian friends that I will leave no stone unturned to find out the true light.' I told him that I had given my friends the assurance that no worldly gain would keep me away from the light, if I could but see it. Well, I am not going to engage you in giving a description of the little discussion that we had between us. It was very good, very noble. I came away, not sorry, not dejected, not disappointed, but I felt sad that even Mr. Banerjee could not convince me."

The point to note here is that Mahatma Gandhi was even anxious to be converted, so keen was his desire for absolute truth; and he was not jubilant but sad when K. C. Banerjee failed to convince him.

(c) The 'Geeta' and the 'Upanishad' stood firm as the main source of strength, peace and inspiration to Mahatma Gandhi as to so many millions of Hindus in the midst of a life of harrowing trials. We shall quote again :—

"When doubts haunt me, when disappointments stare me in the face, and when I see not one ray of light on the horizon I turn to the *Bhagbad Gita*, and find a verse to comfort me; and I immediately begin to smile in the midst of overwhelming sorrow. My life has been full of external tragedies and if they have not left any visible and indelible effect on me, I owe it to the teaching of the *Bhagvad Gita*."

(d) There is a lack of appeal in the Bible to the Hindu mind. Even "*The Sermon on the mount*" is not strong enough. And Christ is not a sufficiently forceful personality to the Hindu. And here according to Mahatma Gandhi one will find the principal reason of failure of Christianity in India. We shall quote again :—

"I must tell you in all humility that Hinduism as I know it, entirely satisfies my soul, fills my whole being and I find a solace in the *Bhagavad Gita and the Upanishadas* that I miss even in the *Sermon on the Mount*."

(e) As the Temporal Power and the Kingdom of Heaven do not, very well, coincide, in Christianity it was a mistake on the part of the Missionaries to have so wholly identified themselves with the British Government. There are sufficient explanations for such a procedure; but certainly, one cannot have an Empire and Christianity at the same time.

(*f*) The Missionaries, again, did not, perhaps could not, approach the people of India, whom they came out to serve, with respect or humility. As a matter of fact, they had no real interest in them and were naturally ignorant as much of their need as of the conditions of their life. Indeed, they never made any real attempt to help the people of India; and if it is not highly paradoxical one might suggest, they were, all the time trying to save their "own souls" when they did actually work for them.

(*g*) Hinduism had already anticipated Christ.

(*h*) There were character and God in India long before Christ came. The "hut" and the "temple" equally shared them.

(*i*) Even reformed Christianity could not mean a success of the Imperial claim but only a deeper appreciation of Christianity.

Whatever the strength or validity of these grounds be and however they might have flown from a deep conviction, what impression, could they conceivably leave upon the Missionary mind? How far could they at all satisfy their multi-coloured motives; or help in realising the humanitarian object of the gathering? As a matter of fact, there has been no change, as far as we know, in the propaganda work of the Missionaries since Mâhatma Gandhi spoke; nor has there been any evidence by which one could estimate the depth of the impression created by Mahatma Gandhi. No doubt Mahatma Gandhi impressed the Christian audience in many ways; nobody had any doubt about his honest, quick and capable mind, or his burning sincerity; but as the majority of the Missionaries would say, he was, nowhere, near the heart of Christianity. On the contrary, he missed altogether the central truth of the Missionary propaganda, *i.e.*, to fulfil the divine mission on earth, to make *every human being Christ-like or God-like.*

What's wrong with such a mission? Surely, failure of the propaganda could not be a sign of the failure of the ideal. Reforms or even revolutionary changes may be necessary for restoring the machinery, but can the ideal itself ever require a burial? In some such strain would the Christian Missionary speak.

The point is, Mahatma Gandhi did not, as a matter of fact, convince the Missionary mind. He only impressed them as they had impressed him in their turn. And could they possibly accept Mahatma Gandhi's conclusions while he did not accept theirs? What would it really mean for a Christian Missionary to believe in Gandhism unless it was to admit—*viz.*

1. That Christ was not God.

2. That Christ was not even a more significant name of God than Rama or Krishna.

3. That there is no "living Christ" as the essence of all human individuals.

4. The standard of life upheld and the character developed, in the non-Christian communities, are, by no means, inferior to what appeared in the Christian communities.

5. All the religions developed all the essentials, independently; and none of them is perfect.

6. That no prophet can claim more than a communal allegiance, at the most.

7. That, in the last analysis, none of them could guarantee success or victory beyond a certain point. Life has its evil still. Blunders are committed in spite of them. No prophet, indeed, represented divine life and none could claim to be any more perfect than the rest.

It is not for me to decide for the Missionary. It is for him to choose between co-operation and fellowship on these terms, and Christ as the Universal Saviour. If I were in their place, it would be difficult for me, to leave Christ; on the other hand, if the Fates placed me on the side of

Mahatma Gandhi entirely, I could not possibly give a different account of Christianity or its propaganda, from what he has given. Of course, Mahatma Gandhi's position can be combated. The Missionaries, for instance, might very well suggest that the 'living Christ' was actually moulding Mahatma Gandhi's life, in spite of him; or that, after all, he had not developed the true Christian character, *i.e.*, the high watermark of true and noble life; or that the non-Christian communities were still in the barbarous stage, a mere primitive survival. But the drastic method of controversy is a game at which two can play; and Mahatma Gandhi might equally rejoin, that the 'living Christ' after all was the 'living Rama' and so on. So that, instead of bringing about a cordial and wholehearted fellowship between the two communities, they would part as members in a debating society or more properly in a Parliamentary sitting generally do. Unfortunately, as a matter of fact, as I have suggested in the beginning an *impasse* has been created as the direct result of the gathering, and the immediate or the ultimate object of the meeting stands covered up by a curtain of smoke; and so far as I can see it is beyond any tradition whether of the East or of the West, to lift it.

B. K. MALLIK

MOHAMAD REZA KHAN AND HIS TRIAL

Mohamed Reza Khan[1] was descended from the Alavi Saiyyads of Shiraz. His father, Hadi Ali Khan, a physician, came to Delhi from Shiraz in the early part of the 18th century of the Christian Era with his four sons named Mohamad Hosain Khan, (2) Mohamad Ali Khan, (3) Mohamad Reza Khan and (4) Mohamad Ismail Khan, when Reza Khan was only ten years of age. At that time Alavi Khan and Ali Naqi Khan, the physicians, were the favourites of Mohamad Shah, the Emperor of Delhi (1719-1748). At the recommendation of Alavi Khan, Reza Khan's father was given a post in Bengal where he went and settled down with all his four sons. His post was made permanent and his pay was fixed at fourteen thousand rupees per year. Ali Verdi Khan, the Nazim of Bengal (1740-1756) highly honoured and respected him during his Nizamatship. After the death of Hadi Ali Khan, Reza Khan's eldest brother, Mohamad Hosain Khan, was given his father's post and he continued in office till the Nizamatship of Mubarak-Ud-Daula when he died in 1201 Hijri (1787-1788 A.D.), except for a short time when Mir Qasim gave this post to another physician who had cured his son, Shamsuddaula.

Mohamad Reza Khan[2] was married to the daughter of Haji Ahmad, the elder brother of Ali Verdi Khan. Later on he fell in love with his brother's wife and married her when she became a widow. He studied hard and specially history.

During[3] the Nizamat of Mir Jafar (1757-60 and 1763-1765) he was appointed Diwan of Jahangirnagar (Modern Decca) where he carried out the revenue settlement.

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[1] Tarikh-I-Muzaffari, Folio 890, British Museum MSS.

[2] Seir, Vol. II, p. 557, and Tarikh-I-Muzaffari, Folio 890 *et sequel.*

[3] Tarikh-I-Muzaffari, Folio 890 *et sequel.* Seir, Vol. III, p. 4. Wardat-I-Qasmi, Folio 123. Miscellaneous Proceedings, Range 154, Vol. 39A, Proceedings of 12th February 1773. India Office Records.

When Mir Jafar was deposed and Mir Qasim (1760-63) became the Nazim, Reza Khan was dismissed and had to pay twenty-five thousand Asharfis to the Nazim.[1] He remained unemployed till the restoration of Mir Jafar in 1763. Mir Jafar again appointed him to his former post at Decca in spite of his reluctance in accepting the office, on account of the confused condition of the Decca revenue accounts due to the mismanagement of Mir Qasim's officials.[2] According to his own statement offered in defence at his trial, he took charge of his post at Decca, on 15th August, 1763, on a written guarantee by Mir Jafar and on Major Adam's persuasions. His hesitation was due to the awful state of affairs and the severity of Mir Qasim's officials which "had...reduced the province to a state of perfect desolation.. and the superior Cutchery was totally deserted by the provincial officers and the Zimindars had withdrawn themselves from obedience." On his arrival at Decca he persuaded Zimindars and officials to come back and resume their duties. Mir Jafar was hard pressed for money at this time and pressed Reza Rhan to realize as much money as possible. He was able to send only two Lakhs, as more could not be realised and he could not use force, because this would have alarmed "the people belonging to the English factory." Mir Jafar suspected Reza Khan of favouring, and intriguing with, the English. At the instigation of Raja Nund Kumar the Nawab called him to Murshidabad to submit the accounts. He came to Murshidabad at this order in June or July 1764 and remained there for five or six months. The Nawab demanded sixteen lakhs of rupees from him but when he showed the accounts according to which there was nothing to be paid, the Nawab ordered him to be surrounded by armed men. Seeing his life in danger, he agreed to write a bond for twenty-two Lakhs of rupees to be paid by instalments. He went back to Decca at the end of January, 1765.

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[1] Tarikh-I-Muzaffair, Folio 890 *et sequel*, and Miscellaneous Proceedings, 39 A, folio 190, *et sequel*.

[2] Miscellaneous Proceedings, ditto. This guarantee by Mir Jafar was actually produced by Reza Khan in his trial. How far this statement is authentic is discussed elsewhere.

Throughout this statement Reza Khan attributes all his troubles to the machinations of Nund Kumar whose conduct and activities during Reza Khan's trial, to be hereinafter discussed, justifies one in believing Nund Kumar to be guilty of this.[1]

There is no doubt that in Mir Jafar's regime he had absolute control over everything and the Nawab's weak-mindedness might easily have given him a chance to injure Reza Khan. Besides these is the testimony of the author of Seir, who is by no means particularly friendly to Reza Khan. "The Minister (Nund Kumar) went so far,"[2] writes the author of Seir, "that the Nawab, in compliance with his will, dismissed that nobleman from his office, and moreover had him brought prisoner to Moorshidabad...."

Reza Khan as Naib Diwan.

The death of Mir Jafar in 1765 meant the overthrow of Nund Kumar. The Nawab's successor, Najmud-Daula was a minor and consequently the Company[3] had to appoint a regent. "From former circumstances in Nund Kumar's conduct" they had "much reason to distrust him." Finding nobody better than Mohamad Reza Khan they appointed him in March, 1765, and "it was agreed that the business of the collection of revenue should be divided into two or more branches as might afterwards appear proper, and the appointment or dismission of the Mutasaddis of those branches and the allotment of their several districts" was to be with the approbation of the

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[1] Seir, Vol. II, p. 557.

[2] Seir, Vol. II, p. 557.

[3] "Letter received from Bengal," Vol. VI, dated 11th March, 1765, p. 403. India Office Records, Seir, Vol. III, p. 4. Tarikh-I-Muzaffari, folio 890 *et sequel*.

Company which had the power "to point out and object when improper persons were employed under them." The titles of "Muzaffar Jang, Muinuddaula, Mubraiz-Ul-Mulk, Khan-I-Khanan" were procured for him from the Emperor.[1] "This man (Mohamad Reza) came at once," writes the author of Seir, "upon the stage of the world, in order to become by the mere force of his destiny the favourite object of boundless favours and endless graces from Lord Clive," who "heaped honours and favours upon him."

This appointment[2] and elevation of Mohamad Reza Khan was far from being welcome to the young Nawab who suspected the English of trying to make Reza Khan the Nawab in his place. This alarm of the Nawab was further increased by the machinations of Nund Kumar.

The all-powerfulness of Reza Khan's office is evident from the proclamation of his dismissal[3]:—

He had in his power :—

(1) The appointment of Amils into the Mofussil.

(2) The collections of the districts and whatever belonged thereunto.

(3) The revenue settlement of the Parganas.

(4) The examination of the Diwani Sanads, under the signature of the Nazim for Taluqas, charity land and religious endowments, etc.

(5) The investigation and the formation of Hustbud of the districts.

(6) The incorporation and separation of one district from another.

(7) The appointment and dismissal of Zimindars with the concurrence of the Nazim.

(8) The cultivation of the country and whatever tends to increase its revenue.

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[1] Seir, Vol. III, p. 24.

[2] H. H. Dodwell, "Clive and Dupleix," pp. 241-243.

[3] Parl. Collection, folio 59, India Office.

(9) Listening to the complaints of the ryots against the unjust demands of Amils and Zimindars.

(10) Settlement of the boundaries of each Zimindari and deciding the disputes between the different Zimindars.

(11) The investigation of Taluqas and the adjustment of the rights of Taluqdars.

(12) The issue of Parwanas to enforce payment of the revenue.

These duties and rights show the importance of the office, the holder of which was a power in the country.

The Directors[12] while approving Reza Khan's appointment remarked, "but in the choice of Mohamet Reza Cawn we think you passed too slightly over the charge urged against him, of being so very deficient in accounting for the revenues of the province of which he had been governor."

In order to appreciate and understand the position in which Mohamad Reza Khan found himself on his appointment, it is necessary to make a brief survey of the environments.

[2] The battle of Plassey had laid the foundations of the British power and though the Nawab Nazim of Bengal was still supposed to be the servant of the Moghul Emperor, he was in fact under the control of the Company. In practically every branch of administration the broken down Moghul system was in existence. For the purposes of revenue the third Moghul settlement carried out by Morshid Quli Khan in 1722 was the basis of assessment. The Chakla was an administrative unit which was under an Amil. Each Chakla had a number of Parganas attached to it.

An idea of the over-assessment of the land can be gathered from the following figures which show the increase in the Jama Tumar from 1582 to 1763 just before Reza Khan's appointment:

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[1] Dispatches to Bengal, 19th Feb., 1766, Vol. III, p. 199, India Office Records.

[2] Ascoli, Revenue History of Bengal.

1582-1658 or 76 years	Increase 15½ p.c.
1658-1722 or 64 years	Increase 13½ p.c.
1722-1756 or 34 years	Increase 29 p.c.
1756-1763 or 7 years only	Increase 40 p.c.

The sudden increase of 40% during seven years only (1756-1763) is extraordinary. It is known very well that there were no sudden improvements in agricultural methods nor was there any extraordinary increase in the area of the land. The only possible conclusion under these circumstances is to attribute it to over-assessment and the consequent heavy roll of arrears. The facts and figures are not wanting to prove the validity of this conclusion. The Dacca province only was bid for thirty-eight lakhs in 1765, though only forty-three years before in 1722, it was bid only for 19¼ lakhs. The result of such a high bid was also soon apparent. The arrears amounted to eight lakhs per year. In one pargana a Zimindar to retain his property had to bid so high that within two years his arrears exceeded the annual revenue due from him.

[1] Reza Khan giving his opinion on the proper method of collecting revenue says in the 4th Clauses :—

"......Since the days of the Company affairs have reached the lowest depth. By the system of Ijara the Zimindars have been dispossessed and the ryot is oppressed. Therefore this system should be at once abolished in the interest of the country's well-being."

Over-assessment and the consequent corruption were not the only difficulties in the way of Mohamad Reza Khan. This period was, from the English Company's point of view, of "power without responsibility." The Company's officials finding a good opportunity were helping themselves. Mohamad Reza Khan protested against this and wrote to the Secret Committee in October, 1765 :

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[1] Grants's Papers, Add 6592, British Museum MSS

[1] "There are many persons who with pretence of debts being due to them, making use of the name of the factory, disturb the Zimindaris and districts of the Chakla of Jahangir-Nagar and sending peons to seize people and obstruct the revenues of the Sirkar. The particulars are very long but I mentioned to you this matter briefly at Moti Jheel. Moreover several evasive Zimindars and Taluqdars borrow more or less from the dependants of the factory and when their rents are demanded from them, go and shelter themselves under their protection, so as to be out of the power of the Aumils. With the pretence of debts being due to them they carry their creditors into their districts and embezzle the revenues, so that the money of the Sircar remains unpaid ......I hope you will be kind enough to write the gentleman of the factories of Jhangirnagar and Luckypoore, etc., that none of the dependants of the factory must lend money to the Zimindars, etc., without the knowledge of the Aumils, nor hold any farm, nor interfere in the affairs of the country......"

[2] The Court of Directors wrote on 4th March, 1767 :—

"We are sorry to see by Mohamad Reza Cawn's complaints entered on your proceedings of 19th February that the multiplicity of the English Gomashtas, their oppressive practice......and the protection they give to the people are still so universal."

Besides these difficulties the general corruption in the services of the Government has to be considered. The whole history of Bengal, and specially of the revenue department is an illustration, and it does not require any special effort to select numerous instances of corruption.

To the three difficulties of Reza Khan stated above, namely, over-assessment, interference of the Company officials and the corrupt executive, is to be added the [3] hostility of the Nawab Nazim and the intrigues that were set against him. The [4] Nawab Nazim visited Clive and urged personally for his removal. Mr. Gray protesting against Reza Khan's appointment wrote to a Company's official on February 19th, 1765.

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[1] Monkton Jones' "Hastings in Bengal," p. 77.

[2] Dispatches to Bengal, 4th March, 1767, Vol. III, 9.759.

[3] Dodwell, "Clive and Dupleix," pp. 241-243.

[4] G. W. Forrest, "Life of Lord Clive," p. 265.

> "As to Mahomed Reza[1] Cawn, the late Nabob had a great dislike to him, because he was deficient in his revenues, and for other reasons, and the present Nabob not only hates him, but is jealous and afraid of his aspiring temper."

With all the power and authority that Reza Khan enjoyed on account of his office it must not be supposed that he had no supervision over him. [2] First and foremost there was the powerful functionary, the British resident at Murshidabad. It is quite conceivable that in the beginning the British resident's supervision might not have been very minute but later on this control must have increased as the subsequent events prove. Sykes used to inspect the management of Mohamad Reza Khan twice a week and at the end of the year all the papers used to be sent to the Company's headquarters. Besides the Select Committee at Calcutta there was also a Council of Control over him. As regards justice, every important case was brought before the Resident and in 1769 (15th September) the Court of Directors authorised the Commissioners to make a strict inquiry into the proceedings of the Courts of Justice and to curtail excessive powers.

[3] In 1766, immediately after the death of Najmuddaula, he went to Patna to carry out the settlement of Bihar. There with the help of Shitab Rai he took serious measures against those who had not paid the Government revenues. The author of Muzaffar Nama was an eye-witness to all that Reza Khan did. Dhiraj-Narain, who was charged with embezzlement, was arrested and imprisoned and his Jagir was confiscated to pay all his dues

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[1] M. Jones, "Hastings in Bengal," p. 72.

[2] See also Mill (1840 Edition), Vol. III, p. 401.

[3] Firminger's introduction to Fifth Report, p. clxvi.

Ascoli, "Early Revenue History of Bengal," p. 92. Seir, Vol. II. p. 25. Tarish-I-Muzaffari, Folio 890 et Sequel. Muzaffar Nama, Folio 197 et Sequel, Wardat-I-Qasmi, Folio 123 et Sequel. Seir, Vol. III, pp. 21-22.

to the Government. The staff employed by Dhiraj Narain was also arrested and compelled to disclose all the dishonest transactions of their master. Officials like Sahumal, Mohamad Naqi Khan, and Mohamad Ashraf were punished, while others, who in spite of their innocence, had been suspended by Dhiraj Narain were restored to their posts. He also carried out reforms in the household management of the Nawab Nazim, checking all the accounts and dismissing dishonest officials of the household like Ahmad Ali Lahori and expelling Mir Murtaza from the city. He fixed the pays of all the Mutasaddis, Qanungos, Khazanchis, and Daroghas in cash so that these officials might not oppress the ryot.

In 1769-70[1] there was a very severe famine. "Lakhs of Hindus and Muslims were starved to death, so much so that there was nobody to dig graves for them," writes the author of Muzaffar Nama. Its severity must have been multiplied by a simultaneous outbreak of smallpox as well. Reza Khan took prompt measures for relief. He collected money for relief from the Nawab Nazim, Jagat Seth, Maharaja Dulab Ram, the Company's Government and with this money he opened relief shops. He also obtained corn from Diwan Har Kishan, Kantu Babu and Ganga Govind Singh and distributed it free to the sufferers. Some of the sufferers were employed in building his Nishat Bagh where he was buried. Maharaja Shitab Rai also obtained corn from Benares and distributed it in the city. Some private individuals with great sacrifice sold all their jewellery for relieving the poor. Once news was brought to him that a Daroga named Khairati Ram has some boats full of corn and was withholding the supplies. Reza Khan ordered his boats to be confiscated and the corn to be distributed. To test the honesty of those who were in charge of relief shops, he once gave two rupees to his servant to go and buy the corn and on finding the dishonesty of the relief shop-keepers, he punished them severely. It will[1] be noticed that the first charge against him in his trial was the withholding of rice supply during the famine. His defence[2] was accepted and it was proved that he had no concern in monopolizing rice and that he, on the other hand, did all he could to relieve the miseries of the poor. It is worth remembering in this connection that the public at that time believed that this famine was caused by the English who withheld the supply of rice. Even Beecher and Reza Khan believed in this. The author of the Tarikh-I-Muzaffari also accuses the English of remaining indifferent to the condition of the poor.

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[1] (*i*) Firminger's introduction to Fifth Report, p. clcix.

(*ii*) Muzaffar Nama, folio 231 *et sequel.*

(*iii*) Seir, Vol. III, p. 26.

(*iv*) Graham in his minute (Miscellaneous proceedings 39B, p. 218) says that six relief shops were opened, but Mohamad Reza Khan says seven.

(*v*) Miscellaneous Proceedings 39A, folio 141.

After[3] the death of his brother, Saifuddaula, Nawab Mubarakuddaula succeeded to the Nizamat in March, 1770 at the age of 11 or 12. The accession of a minor to the Nizamat meant an addition to Reza Khan's duties and responsibilities. The entire management of the Nawab's household was in the hands of the corrupt and dishonest people, and the first thing he had to do was to dismiss such officials. Khadim Ali Khan, the director of the household, was dismissed and Ali Ibrahim was appointed in his place. "It must be observed," writes the author of Seir, "that the times were now become so corrupt that every man in Mubark-Ud-Daula's household was addicted to infidelity and malversation and had it in custom to reckon as fair booty every rupee which he could embezzle out of his charge." The correspondence between the Company's Government and the directors is every now and then full of these complaints about misappropriation and embezzlement. "...... The Nawab's[1] empty treasury," wrote the Directors once, "and the clamour of his creditors prove that an immense sum has been embezzled." And so it used to be.

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[1] See his trial.

[2] Secret letters from Bengal, 16th August, 1773, India Office Records.

[3] (*i*) Tarikh-I-Muzaffari, folio 890 *et sequel.*
(*ii*) Muzaffar-Nama, folio 197 *et sequel.*
(*iii*) Seir, Vol. III, p. 82.

To make his position worse, there occurred a quarrel between him and the famous Munni Begum, "whose lofty spirit and extensive influence had given him much umbrage." The author of Seir blames Reza Khan for quarrelling with her, because, the author says, he "wanted to raise" Babbo Begum "on the ruins of" Munni Begum. But knowing the hostile views of the author of Seir, no judicious person will give full credit to this author's accusation against him. It has to be remembered that the author had a personal grievance against Mohamad Reza Khan.[2] Chulam Hosain Khan wanted to go for pilgrimage to Mecca and he requested Reza Khan to instruct his agents to look after his estates but Reza Khan refused.

The fact[3] of the matter seems to be that Munni Begum was extremely jealous, as is natural, of her rival, Babbo Begum. The latter had lived in the same household, apparently under her control ever since the death of Mir Jafar. The late Nawab Saifuddaula was the son of Munni Begum, and consequently she had supreme authority. But after his death Mubarakuddaula got the Nizamat and naturally Babbo Begum whose son, Mubarakuddaula was, revolted against the tutelage of her rival and demanded her household to be separated from that of Munni Begum, who did not like this separation. Now the author of Seir thinks that Babbo Begum's revolt against her rival's tutelage was due to the instigation of Mohamad Reza Khan.

The measure which Reza Khan took in view of the minority of the Nawab must have created a good deal of bad feeling against him. Besides the dismissal of the Director of the household many new changes were made in the lower ranks. Ali Naqi Khan and Amin Beg Khan were appointed tutors to the young Nawab and Niamatullah Khan was appointed Darogah of the Fil Khana. But perhaps the most important change which brought about the enmity of Munni Begum was the separation of Babbo Begum's household.

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[1] Dispatches to Bengal, 34th December, 1776; Vol. VIII, p. 199 *et sequel.*

[2] Seir, Vol. III, pp. 70-71.

[3] See notes on Munni Begum and Babbo Begum, *vide* "Col. Murray's Correspondance" edited by Imtiaz M. Khan, London University Library.

Another important thing which helps to explain the difficulties of Reza Khan's position, is that the reduction of the Nawab's stipend which used to be 41 lakhs[1] during the Nizamat of Saifuddaula, his predecessor, and had been ultimately reduced to 16 lakhs by the Company in 1771, was attributed to Reza Khan's enmity.[2] The first reduction was made in 1767 and the other two in 1769 and 1771. These reductions, as a matter of fact, were made because the Nawab was not required to keep soldiery and other establishments which had been taken over by the Company.

His Arrest.

There is a good deal of controversy as regards the reasons which led the Directors to order his arrest and trial. [3] Mill thinks that the Directors ordered his arrest, because they were disappointed in their financial expectations. But the reasons stated in their order are quite plain and do not leave any room for doubt. Their instructions were as follows :—

[4]"......Notwithstanding we observe that Mahomet Reza Cawn complained of a monopoly of rice being carried on by other persons, we have received information that he himself, in the very height of the famine has been guilty of great oppressions. That he has been guilty

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[1] Walsh. History of Mnshidabad, p. 169.

[2] (*i*) Dispatches to Bengal, 16th March, 1768 and 17th March, 1769.
(*ii*) Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 584, p. 2.

[3] Mill, Vol. III, p. 531 (1840 Edition).

[4] Dispatches to Bengal, 28th August, 1771, Vol. VI.

of stopping the merchants' boats, loaded with rice and other provisions, intended for the supply of Murshidabad and has forcibly compelled owners to sell their rice to him at a price so cheap as from 25 to 30 seers per rupee and resold it afterwards at the rate of 3 or 4 seers per rupee and all other eatables in proportion.........Although this conduct of Mohamet Reza Cawn has operated in the destruction of many thousands of people, yet it has been overlooked by those in power... ..

"We have repeatedly directed you to inquire into the very large balances said to be due from Mahomet Reza Cawn on account of the Decca revenues......After such a discovery of flagrant duplicity in Mahomet Reza Cawn we cannot persuade ourselves that his bare assertion for all the money collected ought to have the least credit with us. The unadjusted balances amount to a very large sum, and we are determined that either he shall prove to us that he did not collect the whole revenue and what part was remitted and to whom all abatements were specifically made, or refund to the Sircar all the balances due from the Chuckla of Decca......

"When we turn our view to the flourishing state of Burdwan...... under the immediate inspection of our servants ......we cannot but conclude that the diminution of the Dewany revenues must have been owing to the misconduct of those who have had the superintendence of the collections.

"But as we have further reasons to suspect that large sums have by violent oppressive means been actually collected by Mahomet Reza Cawn on account of the Dewany revenues, great part of which he has appropriated to his own use, or distributed among the creatures of his own......and as the transferring the like trust to any other minister could yield us little prospect...... it is therefore our determination to stand forth as Duan by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon ourselves the entire care and management of the revenue...... We hereby authorize and require you to divest Mahomet Reza Cawn and every person employed by or......acting under him.....

"It is therefore our pleasure and command that you enter into a minute investigation not only of the causes to which the decrease of revenue may be ascribed, but also into Mahomet Reza Cawn's general conduct during the time the Dewany revenues have been under his charge......

"As such appearances of corrupt practices in the administration of Mahomet Reza Cawn leave us to apprehend that he may have been equally unfaithful in the discharge of the trust he held under the Nawab, we further direct that you to make a full strict inquiry concerning the application of the large sums which have passed through his hands on account of the annual stipends paid to successive Nabobs......".

From this letter it is evident that the Directors laid four charges against him, (1) Monopolizing grain, (2) Misappropriation of the Decca revenue, (3) General misappropriation in the collection of the Diwani revenues and (4) Misappropriation of the Nawab's stipend.

[1] It must be remembered that the Directors had objected to Mohamad Reza Khan's appointment on the ground of the misappropriation of the Decca revenue as far back as 19th February, 1766, when they had to grant their approval. After that they had constantly been writing to the Company's Government about this Decca revenue in their letters of 10th March, 1768, 17th March, 1769, and 10th April, 1771. Therefore this charge was not a new one. As regards the charges number third and fourth, they were only a sort of corollary derived from the second charge. But undoubtedly the first charge was a new one and from the words of this letter it is clear that the Directors on this point were led by unofficial information. Remembering the difficulties of Mohamad Reza Khan enumerated above, it is quite easy to conclude that he must have had a good many enemies, both English and Indian.

[2] The Indian historians are silent on this point and the only thing they write is that the Governor received an order from England to arrest Mohamad Reza Khan and that he was arrested accordingly.

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[1] Dispatches to Bengal:—
19th February, 1766, Vol. III.
10th March, 1768, Vol. IV.
17th March, 1769, Vol. IV.
10th April, 1771, Vol. V.

[2] (1) Tarikh-I-Muzaffari, folio 890 *et sequel.*
(2) Muzaffar Nama, folio 231 *et sequel.*
(3) Wardat-I-Qasmi, folio 142, British Museum MSS.

Wilson and Firminger both agree in saying that the real motive of the Directors in ordering his arrest was what they wrote in their letter of 28th August (quoted above) and that they were impressed by non-official information against Mohamad Reza Khan and this conclusion seems to be quite right in view of the fact that no other motive of the Directors is on record.

It is hardly necessary to mention that Hastings had no part whatsoever in it, for the simple reason that this order was issued by the Directors before he was appointed to the Governorship. He only received the order and had to carry out the commands of his masters.

[1] Immediately on the receipt of the letter Hastings issued an order for Reza Khan's arrest. Early in the morning Anderson with a company of soldiers came to Nishat Bagh, the residence of Mohamad Reza Khan. Entering the house, he most politely read the order of arrest and assured him that no harm was intended to him. Reza Khan's sentries at the gate were replaced by the Company's soldiers and he was asked to prepare for the journey to Calcutta.

Escorted by a company of soldiers Reza Khan started for Calcutta.

> "A vast concourse of people, whether from a principle of time-serving or from a regard to the knowledge that 'might is pregnant, what shall it bring forth to-morrow,' attended him as far as Plassy from where they returned; but numbers who wanted to be beforehand with their rivals went as far as Calcutta."

A few months after his arrest, the Council issued the order for his dismissal[2] on 11th May, 1772, giving in detail his functions and powers from which he was dismissed. While on his way to Calcutta he received[1] a letter of apology and courtesy from Hastings saying that he (Hastings) was compelled to take up this course under orders from his masters. On his arrival at Calcutta he was lodged in Chitpur, a suburb of Calcutta and Company's soldiers kept watch over him.[2] In one of the pamphlets entitled, "A state of British authority in Bengal under the Government of Mr. Hastings, etc.," issued under the pseudonym of "Aglos," the writer says that Reza Khan was confined in a miserable house, "a prisoner at large." This statement, even without any authentic contradiction, would have carried little value, knowing as we do, the source from which it comes. But fortunately the translator of Seir who was an eye-witness to this, says in the footnote that Reza Khan was confined in an elegant villa in Chitpur which, though a suburb, was full of gardens.

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[1] (1) Muzaffar Nam., folio 231 *et sequel.*
(2) Seir, Vol. III, pp. 39-42.
(3) Wardat-I-Qasmi, folio 142 *et sequel.*

[2] Parliamentary Collection 22, folio 59, *India Office.*

Hastings,[3] after the arrest of Reza Khan personally went to Murshidabad and appointed Raja Gurdas, the son of Nund Kumar as the Diwan of the Nawab's household and Munni Begum as the chief administrator in the place of Reza Khan,[4] "both the declared enemies of Mahomet Reza Cawn."

His Trial.

The Proceedings against him were begun on 12th February, 1773, before the Members of the Board of Consultation, which on the 1st day of trial consisted of Hastings (President), Brigadier General Sir Robert Barker, William Aldersay, John Reed and Henry Goodwin.

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[1] Muzaffar Nama, folio 231 *et sequel.*

[2] (1) Wardat-I-Qasmi, folio 142 *et sequel.*
(2) Seir, Vol. III, p. 68, footnote.
(3) Parliamentary Collection I. O. 9A., p. 193.

[3] Muzaffar Nama, folio 231 *et sequel.*

[4] Hastings' letter to the Directors, 1st September, 1772. Parliamentary Collection, I.O. 9A., p. 295.

According to the Director's letter of 28th August, 1771, there were four charges against him, namely:

(1) His monopoly of grain in the time of the famine.

(2) His embezzlement or neglect in his accounts of the revenues of the Dacca province while he was the Diwan of that province under the Nawab.

(3) His mismanagement of the revenues of Bengal during his holding the office of the Naib Diwan under the Company.

(4) His mismanagement of the stipend allotted to the Nawab.

To these was added to fifth charge of

(5) His conspiracy with the Emperor and the Marathas with a view to facilitate the invasion of Bengal.

This fifth charge was brought against him at the instance of General Sir Robert Barker, who on 18th June, 1772, wrote to Hastings saying that he had intercepted a letter from the Emperor to Mohamad Reza Khan. (Full details of this charge are discussed under the heading "Fifth Charge and the Defence)."

Before discussing these charges and defence separately it is important to know the method adopted by the Company's government for securing the evidence for prosecution. The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors wrote to Hastings on 28th August, 1771 :—

> "In this research your own judgment will direct you to all such means of information as may be likely to bring to light the most secret of his transactions; we however cannot forbear recommending to you to avail yourself of the intelligenee which Nundcoomer may be able to give respecting the Naib's administration; and while the envy which Nundcoomer is supposed to bear this Minister may prompt him to a ready communication of all proceedings which have come to his knowledge...........
>
> "Hence we cannot doubt but that the abilities and disposition of Nundcoomer may be successfully employed in the investigation

of Mahomet Reza Cawn's administration and bring to light any embezzlement, fraud, or malversation which he may have committed in the office of Naib Diwan.

Hastings wrote to the Directors on 1st September, 1772:—

"There is no doubt that Nundcoomer is capable of affording me great service by his information and advice; but it is on his abilities and on the activity of his ambition and hatred to Mohamed Reza Cawn that I depend for investigating the conduct of the latter, and by eradicating his influence, for confirming the authority which you have assumed in the administration of the affairs of this country. The reward which has been assigned him will put it fully in his power to answer these expectations and will be an encouragement to him to exert all his abilities for the accomplishment of them."

What sort of man Nundkomar was and what sort of opinion the Directors had is evident from their letter of 22nd February, 1764, to the Bengal Government[1] :—

"From the whole of your proceedings with respect to Nandkomar, there seems to be no doubt of his endeavouring by forgery and false accusation to ruin Rām Churn..............We therefore most readily concur with you that Nundkomar is a person improper to be trusted with his liberty in our settlement............We shall therefore depend upon your keeping such a watch over all his actions as may be means of preventing his disturbing the quiet of the public or injuring individual for the future."

Even as far back as 16th January, 1761, Henry Vensittart's opinion about Nundkomar is to be found in a letter he wrote to the Directors in which he says[2] :—

"Nundkomar............is one of those who being on bad terms with the country government has lived a long time under the English protection. As these sort of men are generally of bad character, I trusted him with no part of my confidence......."

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[1] Dispatches to Bengal, 22nd February, 1764.

[2] Parliamentary Collection, I. O. 9A, p. 230.

Besides,[1] it must not be forgotten that during Mir Jafar's Nezamat, Nund Komar had involved him into trouble and that Reza Khan had been appointed in his place from which he had been dismissed.

And yet it was on the material provided by this man that the prosecution evidence was based. Hastings[2] writing to the Secret Committee on 24th March, 1774, says—

> "You will see with what materials I was furnished; I am sorry to say that some were collected with so little decency and regard to truth, as to make me apprehensive of the effects which they might have produced on my character............"

Remembering this important point in mind, the whole trial can be discussed in detail.

The First Charge and the Defence.[3]

This charge related to the monopoly of grain during the famine of 1769-70. A good many witnesses were examined and though it was said that grain was collected by the orders of Reza Khan, not a single documentary evidence was produced to prove the issue of any such order by Reza Khan. Mere verbal instructions by Reza Khan could not have been sufficient for such a big transaction as monopolizing grain in a big country like Bengal and Bihar. Some witnesses like Mono Beg deposed that they were ordered by Reza Khan to collect grain but they did not produce any written order. Another witness, Tuckooran Brahmanee, alleged that her stock of rice was forcibly taken away on Reza Khan's order by Davi Sing and that she reported the matter to the Collector of Purnea. The Collector when asked to certify this statement wrote back—

> "I perfectly recollect the woman in question, she having pleaded her cause in person when I attended the Adawlut: but I really never

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[1] (1) Seir, Vol. II, p. 557. (2)

[2] Parliamentary Collection, I. O. 9A., p. 238.

[3] Miscellaneous Proceedings, 39A, folio 1-178.

did before hear of her having any cause to complain either against the Naib Dewan or Davy Singh, the late Diwan at this place, whether for grain taken or grieveances of any kind whatever..........."

In the same way the Board made several inquiries through their officials to find out the truth of such allegations but they were all found to be baseless.

Some witnesses gave the names of certain merchants through whom, it was alleged, the grain was purchased. On being summoned these merchants deposed that Reza Khan never did anything of the kind and that on the contrary, Reza Khan sent his men "to prevent persons purchasing rice by violence and to see that it was fairly sold to the shopkeepers."

On the contrary some of the witnesses like Girdhari Lal and Aminuddin Ali Khan deposed how Nundkomar was engaged in bribing witnesses to depose against Reza Khan.

Reza Khan in his defence stated :

> "...........Except what was bought for the use of the Company's troops I did not purchase a single grain with view of private trade and monopoly. The merchants were sent for and collected with much pains from the other parts of the country in order to encourage them to bring corn with alacrity to the city and sell it there for the relief of the people and in the time of famine I established[1] seven different places for the distribution of charity on the part of the Company, the Nabob and myself. To supply these charitable donations, the grain was purchased at the common market price..........."

Sadruddin[2] on behalf of Reza Khan appealed "to the men of station rank and family and all other inhabitants of the city of Murshidabad" to testify to the innocence of Reza Khan. About 272 persons responded to this appeal and signed it on oath. The names and signatures included (1) Shekh Faizullah,

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[1] Graham in his minute says that six houses were established. See Misc. Proceedings, Vol. 39B., p. 218.

[2] Misc. Proceedings, Vol. 39B.

Sudder of Bengal, (2) Mohamad Motahadi, Mufti of Bengal, (3) Mohamad Ufa, Qazi, (4) Juggat Seth.

A counter-memorial was presented by Nund Komar accusing Reza Khan of all the charges. About 70 persons signed it, most of them being obscure people.

(*To be continued*)

IMTIAZ MOHAMAD KHAN

A PRAYER

Oh God of Gods, give him to me,
Give me my love, else I perish;
Give me the feel of his arms close about me;
Give me the strength of his body to cherish.
Give me his beating heart pressed against my heart;
Give me the rapture of his lips on mine;
Give me the heart of him, every least part of him,
Give me the bliss of each moment divine.
Give me the poignance and pain of love's ecstasy;
Give me to give him the fire consuming me;
Give me to merge my soul into his soul;
Gladly to die on his breast, if need be.
Now while the fire of youth flames within me;
Oh, God of Love, answer my plea;
Take what thou wilt of me, now or forever;
But give me my love to-day, give me my lover.

LILY S. ANDERSON

INDIA'S DEBT TO RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY[1]

Ninety-two years ago, on the 27th September, 1833, in the peaceful and still hours of early morning, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the greatest Indian of the age in which he lived, left his mortal remains at Bristol in England where he had gone to serve the interests of his mother-country. We have met here this evening to observe the anniversary of his death and to pay our humble tribute of respect to his hallowed memory. The services he rendered to his country were invaluable; they were, however, ill-understood, ill-judged and ill-appreciated during his life-time, because a prophet is seldom honoured in his own country (at least while he lives). A great genius like him was much in advance of the age in which he lived. He was the pioneer in the making of modern India. The work he initiated and partially carried out during his life-time formed the solid foundation on which future workers have been able to build, and it has brought the vision of a new and united India within the range of practical politics.

A man of versatile genius, his activities extended to and made his influence felt in all departments of the life of his countrymen. He was a profound scholar, a great religious and social reformer, a broad-minded educationist, a far-sighted statesman, a learned author, a successful journalist, an acute debator, a great lover of individual and national liberty, a sincere and earnest advocate of the advancement of the womanhood of India, a great philanthropist, an undaunted defender of faith and of the weak and the oppressed and a sworn enemy of tyranny in any form, social, religious or political. It is seldom that we find such noble and uplifting qualities vouchsafed by Providence to a single individual in any country or in any age and this makes the advent of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in India peculiarly significant. Any country which could give birth to such a prince among men should feel proud of its treasure and any people that could claim kinship to such a noble soul should feel themselves honoured and glorified.

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[1] Presidential address delivered at the Anniversary Meeting held at the Ranchi Brahmo Mandir on the 28th September, 1925.

What was the secret of success of Raja Ram Mohan Roy's work in his efforts to ameliorate the backward condition of his country? Firstly, it was, as I believe, his earnest search for and great love of Truth. Secondly, it was his innate love of freedom, social, intellectual and political; and last though not the least, it was his unflinching determination and undaunted courage to get over all difficulties that faced him in the carrying out of what he believed to be true, just and right.

The great Bankim Chandra Chatterjee has told us that true manliness (*Manuswatva*) consists in the harmonious development of all the faculties in man, physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual and the exercise of those faculties in perfect equilibrium. In Raja Ram Mohan Roy, we find the consummation so devoutly to be wished for, and developed to an extent not to be found among most men. Physically, to all appearances, strength, grace and beauty marked him out as a striking personality, inspiring love, respect and admiration in all with whom he came into contact. He was the possessor of a towering intellect which was as sharp as it was all-grasping. His moral nature was acutely developed and his spirit used to soar high at all times to be in constant communion with his Maker. Perfection in humanity is unattainable; Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of the few men who succeeded in making a near approach to it.

The spirit of the age in which he was born greatly influenced his life and character and left an indelible impression on his work. Great nations all over the world were at that time struggling to free themselves from political and spiritual bondage. America was fighting its great and memorable war of independence. Even in England which was waging an unholy war against her own children in America, men of the type of Chatham and Burke were not found wanting to cry against the unrighteous action of their country and defend the cause of America in her struggle for Liberty. The desire for freedom from the tyranny of aristocracy and priestcraft was brewing (and had later burst out) in the national life of France and the ground was being prepared for a life-and-death struggle for assertion of popular liberties and popular rights. Poland was striving, though unsuccessfully to assert her political freedom against the ruthless aggression of her unfriendly neighbours. It was in an age of universal struggle for freedom that Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in India and it is no wonder that his life's mission was to fight a battle of freedom for his countrymen against social, intellectual, moral and spiritual tyranny which is so necessary as a spade-work for successful attainment of ultimate political independence.

One of the biographers of Raja Ram Mohan Roy has rightly observed that India's debt to the Raja is endless and can never be repaid. Within the short time at my disposal, it will not be possible for me to make more than a passing reference to the more important reforms and acts of public beneficence inaugurated by the Raja, some of which bore fruits during his life-time, others took time to grow and develop, the benefits of which are now being reaped by the children of new India.

One of the great debts which India owes to the Raja is in connection with the reform he initiated for the restoration of the pure and ancient religious faith of India. It is said that the idea of worship of one God dawned into his mind by his association with his Moulavi teachers of Arabic and Persian in Patna while he was yet a boy of 8 or 9. Be it as it may, religion was the main spring and guiding principle of the Rajah's life. In fact, he lived, moved and had his being in an atmosphere of religion. By intuition and by deep and extensive study of the Hindu scriptures in original, he found that behind much that was gross, impure, superstitious and meaningless, lay the pure faith as preached and practised by the ancient sages of India which was the recognition of the unity of God Who was formless and Who should be worshipped in spirit only. At a time when the whole world including civilized Rome, Greece and Egypt delighted in paying homage to forms and figures as divine, the old *Rishis* of India discovered this great truth and formulated and practised the worship of one Unchangeable, Eternal and Formless Being Who is the Maker and Controller of the Universe. The gifted Raja recognised this great truth in very early life and he devoted his whole life in trying to enlighten his countrymen on their rightful claim to this precious heritage and urging them to recover the lost treasure.

As regards the popular forms of Hinduism, the Raja contended that though image-worship seemed to have the sanction of certain Hindu Sastras at first sight, careful and unbiassed enquiry would go to show that it was there for a special purpose, namely, to please the fancy of the ignorant and common people who could not come up to the height of realisation of God in spirit but who must be furnished with a material embodiment of the Divine wherewith to satisfy the natural cravings of the human heart and whereon could be lavished the outpourings of that religious and intensely devotional fervour for which the common people of India have ever been noted. Thus the worship of forms and figures which in many instances were supposed to symbolically represent some of the popular attributes of God was considered to be the best alternative to the worship of God in spirit. A man of his superior intelligence and wide knowledge of human character could not have failed to recognise the true meaning and object underlying the passages in the Hindu Sastras supporting the popular form of Hindu religion, but as a relentless advocate of truth, he could not stand by this false show on grounds of expediency alone. He condemned this popular conception and popular representation of God as radically wrong and a thing unworthy of the descendants of the great Rishis of old, and his life-long labour was to see the restoration of the pure Hindu faith in the land of its birth.

In that dark age of uncompromising Hindu orthodoxy and superstition, it was a unique sight to see a boy of 15, born and brought up in a high class Brahmin family, amidst traditions and customs which were as obdurate as they were old, descending into the arena of the polemics of religion and freely discussing and carrying on a controversy almost single-handed, on the demerits of the practising religion of the age. He wrote and published a book on the subject supported by no other help except incontrovertible Sastric texts. The Raja's strong moral conviction and his fearless advocacy of truth urged him to publicly revolt, at that tender age, against the almost universally accepted religious beliefs and practices prevailing among his countrymen. The natural consequences of such a bold and desperate action were not slow to come down upon him and he bravely met the crisis. He was expelled from home for his heresies and became a wandering figure for nearly four years in different parts of India and outside it in his eager search for knowledge and truth. His zeal for the study of the religion and tenets of Buddha led him to visit Thibet by crossing the great Himalayas in order to secure first-hand knowledge on the subject from the great Lamas at their inaccessible strongholds. To my mind, this one adventure speaks volumes in praise of the physical endurance, strength and courage, and the indomitable will and untiring energy of young Ram Mohan Roy, bent on seeking and discovering truth for the sake of truth only.

Later on, he wrote many pamphlets and books against idolatry and entered into controversies and disputations with the ablest exponents of the orthodox religion not only in

Bengal but in other parts of India as well. In such contests, it must be said that his opponents had invariably to yield to him the palm of victory. His writings constitute a most remarkable and dignified defence of monotheism in its pure and simple form in the world's literature on the subject.

His passion for pure monotheism led him to be involved in controversy against the accepted doctrinal form of Christianity. He contended that the Trinity theory of Christianity was wholly untenable from the view-point both of pure monotheism and of the highest conception of God and that it was wrong to attribute Godhead to Christ. And this and his comments on a few other material aspects of the Christian faith brought on a pitched battle between him and the learned Missionaries of the orthodox school in which, however, his adversaries failed to assail the position taken up by him. He had to publish a new journal to defend Hindu faith and philosophy against the unmerited assaults of the Serampore Missionaries. The bitter controversy, however, ended happily by the conversion of a learned European Missionary from a Trinitarian to a Unitarian Christian and the establishment of a Unitarian Church in the heart of the city of Calcutta. He had unbounded reverence for the character and teachings of Christ and he published his precepts for the benefit of his countrymen.

His advocacy of monotheism, as has been truly observed by Mr. Adam, "was not the effect of sectarian zeal, for he attached himself to no sect exclusively, but united cordially to all, whether Hindus or Musulmans, Jews or Christians, who united cordially with him in promoting this common object." His life-long efforts culminated in the establishment of the first Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta in 1828 and the erection of the first Prayer Hall in Chitpore Road which he dedicated to the public for the worship and adoration of "one Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being Who is the author and preserver of the universe but not under or by any other name, designation or title peculiarly used for and applied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever."

India owes an immense debt of gratitude to Raja Ram Mohan Roy for his untiring efforts to uplift her womanhood. His esteem and chivalrous regard for the gentler sex were inborn and unbounded, and found expression in his warm advocacy of their cause whenever occasion demanded it. He had great faith in the capability and greatness of Indian women and felt sorely distressed at their inferior position in society and their neglected condition. He fought bravely against polygamy, Kulinism, selling of daughters in marriage and against the inequitable laws of inheritance applicable to the case of Hindu women. These, he contended, were so many incontestable proofs of the inferior and degraded position assigned to them in society. It was chiefly through his personal influence that Miss Mary Carpenter decided to come to India and work for the amelioration of condition of the women of this country. It was no wonder that the cruel practice of misguided Hindu widows destroying themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands should make a strong appeal to his heart and arouse the strongest indignation within him and evoke from him strenuous efforts for its abolition in the face of determined and vehement opposition and threats on the part of the majority of his countrymen. In Bengal Presidency alone, there was an approximate annual sacrifice of seven to eight hundred women from this cause alone, brought on in most cases by pretences, delusive persuasions, threats and not unfrequently by application of personal violence on the part of the interested relatives of their deceased husbands. Twenty years continued and hard work on the part of Raja Ram Mohan Roy culminated in the abolition of the inhuman custom in the British Possessions in India by the passing of the memorable Act in 1829 by Lord William Bentinck. This one achievement of the Raja, considering the extremely adverse circumstances, social, religious and political, under which it was accomplished, would alone have made his name immortal in the social history of India, even if he had done nothing else to benefit his mother-country.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the pioneer of English education in India. The debt which India owes to the Raja in this connection can never be repaid. The Board of Directors of the East India Company sanctioned a certain sum of money for the education of the people of India and it was practically decided that the whole amount should be spent towards the advancement of the oriental system of learning. It was resolved that a Sanskrit College should be established in Calcutta where the children of the soil would be taught their philosophy, their grammar, their theology and their religion in Sanskrit and according to methods then prevailing in the country. Raja Ram Mohan Roy with a very few far-sighted Indians and Europeans strongly opposed this proposal and he submitted a representation to Lord Amherst in 1823 showing the futility and the utterly unproductive and unpractical character of the scheme and strongly advocating the introduction of the study of science, mathematics, literature and history of the West by the adoption of the English system in place of the Indian method of education. He deeply impressed the Government with the breadth of his views and his irresistible arguments, and as the result of this representation, the present Hindu College was founded along with the Sanskrit College for the advancement of both occidental and oriental learning. His zeal for the introduction of English education in this country led him to start a school in Calcutta for the youngmen of Bengal under his own supervision and at his own expense, and he whole-heartedly supported Dr. Duff in his efforts to establish Missionary Schools for imparting sound education on Western lines to the boys of Bengal. The bitter controversy between the Orientalists and the Anglicists for the determination and expansion of the best system of education suitable for Indian youths ended in a complete victory for the latter when in 1835, the famous despatch of Lord Macaulay settled once for all this vexed problem by obtaining the approval of the Home Government to a system of education on modern lines. It is not difficult to imagine what would have been the consequence in India to-day, if Raja Ram Mohan Roy's alternative scheme had not been accepted by the authorities.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy may truly be said to be the first author of the Bengali prose. The few prose writings that existed before him were neither readable nor intelligible and very few people even knew of their existence. The Bengali literature which then existed was circumscribed within the narrow limits of poetry. Bengali prose was such an unknown quantity that Raja Ram Mohan Roy had to write a book on Bengali grammar and had to define rules to help his countrymen to read prose in the proper way. He was a profound scholar in Sanskrit, deeply versed in Hindu Philosophy, Hindu Theology and Hindu Religion, and in his zeal for the restoration of the pure faith of the Hindus, he translated parts of the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Vedanta, and other sacred books into Bengali prose in order to place them into the hands of his countrymen that they may see for themselves the essential truth about religion which they contained. He was master of Arabic and Persian languages and had read the Quoran in original. He studied Hebrew and Greek to enable him to read the life, work and teachings of Christ from their primitive source. He knew French, Latin and a few other languages as well. It was the critical study of the great religions of the world that helped him to cast his faith in pure and simple monotheism and turn his face against any creed that supported even a semblance of idolatry, hero-worship or man-worship. His contributions to Bengali literature are of inestimable value. He saw clearly that in order to spread the practical and useful knowledge of the West and to bring the rich treasures of ethical and religious lore of the East within the reach of his countrymen, the medium of instruction must be both English and Bengali languages, and not Sanskrit as was contended by the Orientalists, and he did his best to give effect to his ideal. He was a voluminous author. He wrote 38 books and pamphlets in English and 32 in Bengali, most of which were written in support of the social, religious and political reforms which he preached during his life. He began studying English very late in life and he became a finished scholar within a few years. His writings are characterised by deep scholarship, profound regard for truth, irrefutable logic, graceful style, chaste and dignified diction, clearness of expression and sound judgment, and these have made them treasures of literature both in the Bengali as well as in the English language. As a composer of hymns, his writings occupy a high place in that department of Bengali literature; their beauty and sublimity are acknowledged and appreciated by all classes of Bengali-knowing people.

He advocated the freedom of the Press and had to fight, though unsuccessfully, both in India and in England for the repeal of an unjust order of the Governor-General of India prohibiting the publication of any newspaper in India without the previous sanction of Government. He was the great champion of people's liberty and used to rejoice publicly when constitutional governments were established, popular liberty asserted and popular rights vindicated in any country in any part of the world. He was in England when the great Reform Bill was being discussed in the British Parliament and he supported it whole-heartedly both by speech and by pen.

He was the first Indian to defy the mandate of the Orthodox Hindu Society and break its rigid caste-rules in order to cross the *Kalapani* and visit England at the call of duty and for the benefit of his countrymen. At that time, such a venture was considered to be an almost impossible feat for a Hindu, but Raja Ram Mohan Roy never shrank from doing what he considered to be right.

At one time, Europeans only were privileged to sit as Jurymen in India. Raja Ram Mohan Ray saw the injustice and inequity of such an arrangement. He fought hard and secured this privilege for his own countrymen. He also successfully fought against an unjust judgment of the Calcutta High Court touching the time-honoured laws of Hindu inheritance. He was a great friend of the ryots. He fought for their rights and tried to protect them from the oppression of Zemindars.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the pioneer of Indian Journalists. He used to edit "Sambad Koumudi" in Bengali, in which social, political, religious, literary and scientific subjects were freely discussed for the benefit and enlightenment of his countrymen. He also edited another newspaper called "Mirat al Akbar" in Persian which was the court language and the language of the educated Indians of that time. There was only one Bengali newspaper called "Samachar Chandrica" existing at the time when "Sambad Koumudi" was published by him. This was edited by the European Christian Missionaries of Serampur. His was the first newspaper in Bengali edited and conducted by an Indian and he might, therefore, be called the father of Indian Journalism.

Such was Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the Great Indian patriot, reformer, philanthropist, scholar, author and journalist, the great upholder of truth and justice, preacher of pure religion, lover of freedom, champion of women's rights, defender of the weak and the oppressed, enemy of all forms of unrighteousness, oppression and tyranny and a lover of humanity, one who lived and died for his country. The seeds which he had sown nearly one hundred years ago have sprung into fine trees, the fruits of which we are now enjoying. But what have we, his countrymen, done to repay our debt of gratitude? The answer is—we have practically done nothing. The way to show our gratitude to the Raja would be to place his high ideal before ourselves and try to work up to them. Except in certain instances of minor importance, the country has failed in this undertaking. How many reforms have we still to effect in our lives and in our society before we would be entitled to the honour of being called the worthy countrymen of Raja Ram Mohan Roy? One can live only in expectation for the dawn of such a happy day!

We have made feeble attempts to perpetuate his sacred memory, but even that work, be it said to our discredit, remains incomplete and unfinished. In Calcutta, we have established a Library and Reading Room for the public, called the Ram Mohan Library; we have provided it with a small building and a fair collection of well-selected books and periodicals which attract a large number of readers. The hall is used for public meetings. The building urgently requires further expansion and its worthy Secretary, Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea (Minto Professor in the Calcutta University), has appealed to the public for help to carry out the project of expansion. I hope the public will respond generously to the appeal.

There is another attempt being made by his countrymen to raise a Memorial Hall and to excavate a tank in honour of the Raja at the place of his birth at Radhanagore, but it is not progressing for want of funds. I am indebted to Mr. Jatindranath Basu, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., Solicitor, Calcutta, for the following short account of this memorial project:—

"About 13 or 14 years ago, a Committee was organised mainly by the endeavour of the late Babu Bipinbihari Ghose, a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court, to erect a suitable memorial to Raja Ram Mohan Roy at the site of his birth. Subscriptions were called for and a sum of Rs. 10,000 or thereabout was raised. The following scheme was formed:

A building with certain architectural features should be erected at the site of the birth of the Raja, consisting of a large central hall and some side-rooms. The hall could be used for meetings and gatherings and the rooms for establishing a museum for keeping articles connected with the life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. It was also contemplated that a large plot of land surrounding the Memorial building should be acquired and suitably laid out, and a tank should be excavated. It was contemplated that every year, a *Mela* should be held on the ground of the memorial hall, when leading men should be asked to visit the locality and speak about the various aspects, social, religious, political and educational, of the life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. There might also be exhibitions connected with the *Mela*. The object was propaganda work for the general uplift of the people.

A part of the land was acquired by the Committee and the erection of a building was commenced. The building has been raised to the height of one storey and the plinth and the first floor are high. The hall and the back room have been roofed over, but the side-rooms have not yet been roofed. The Land Acquisition Collector, Hugli, has prepared an estimate for acquisition of the adjoining land, but the money has not been paid in. After his last return from England; my uncle, the late Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, was approached and he succeeded in raising a further sum of Rs. 10,000. But to complete the building, we require Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 20,000 more and we want a fund of Rs. 25,000 for maintenance charges."

Such is the position of the two humble memorials which are being raised in honour of the great Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Is it too much to ask that the countrymen of the Raja should readily come forward and extend their helping hands in the completion of the project?

CHUNILAL BOSE

THERE IS NO "I" IN YOU

There is no "I." in you,
But only gleams of sunshine,
Happiness,
All love and sorrow, which,
In meeting,
Bring forth great joy,
Compassion,
And divinity.

In your flaming colour,
Hopefulness;
In your running step,
Sweet ecstasy.
In the song upon your lips,
And in the heart of you,
Gladness,
And tranquillity.

In your tear-dimmed eyes,
Deep sorrow,
In your breaking voice,
The saddest of all songs—
The weariness of life
Lived long—
The blueness of
Discouragement.

All these, together,
In percentages,
Are you,
And yet, of these,
You think as "I!"

**

I? There is no I!
No entity!

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

THE ARTHASASTRA OF KAUTILYA AND THE NITISASTRA OF SUKRA—A POLITICAL STUDY

VIII

Among the functions of state the function of conquest is a non-essential one, but viewing it from the standpoint of both Kautilya and Sukra it would seem to be an essential function. This is evident from the fact that kings who cannot attain to the status of *Samrat* or *Sarvabhauma* are spoken of in a discourteous tone by Sukra.[1] Again, though Sukraniti is *not merely* a treatise about statecraft, yet a fourth part of the book is devoted to topics connected with the subject of conquest.[2] That Sukra regarded war as a natural phenomenon is evident when he says, that "the immovables are the food of the mobiles, the toothless of the toothed creatures, the armless of the armed, the cowards of the valiant."[3] The importance of the function of conquest to Kautilya is almost self-evident, because the Arthasastra like the *Prince* of Machiavelli, is essentially a study of monarchy in relation to the expansion of the dominion of the monarch. So much so is this the case, that in one place the importance of the economic institutions of the state is measured in terms of their contribution to war.[4] That the book has been composed as a sort of guide for the benefit of a would-be conqueror is admitted by the author himself at the end of the book. Moreover, the importance of the subject-matter of conquest is evident when we see that out of 15 Books in which the treatise is divided, no less than 9 deal with that subject, directly or indirectly.[1] Again the king of Kautilya has been warned to abjure lust, anger, etc., in order that he may be a *Chaturantoraja*, *i.e.*, a monarch whose suzerainty will extend over the whole world bounded by the four quarters.[2] Thus we see that the ideal of the Kautilyan monarch is "universal sovereignty" and the way to that lies through conquest.

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[1] Ch. I, lines 249-50.

[2] Ch. IV, Sec. 6, Ch. IV, Sec. 7—The latter section deals with foreign policy and is full of details about horses and elephants—so necessary for war. This love for details is also found in the *Politics* of Aristotle, *e.g.*, music.

[3] Ch. IV, Sec. 7, lines 630-31.

[4] Bk. VII, Ch. 14.

This conception of universal sovereignty is as old as Hindu political thought itself; in fact, it is a familiar category in Hindu politics. The king in the *Aitareya Brahman* says, "It is my desire to attain to superiority, pre-eminence and overlordship among all kings; to acquire an all-embracing authority by achieving all forms and degrees of sovereignty; to achieve the conquest of both space and time and be the sole monarch of the earth up to the seas."[3] Our national epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, might almost be said to illustrate this ideal of *Chakravartiraja*.[4] And the *Chaturantoraja* of Kautilya and the *Sarvabhauma* of Sukra are the embodiments of the same ideal.[5] Sukra has enumerated several grades of kings of which *Samanta* and the *Sarvabhauma* represent the lowest and the highest rungs of the ladder respectively. The difference in the degrees of sovereignty enjoyed by the various kings is the outcome of difference in revenue—a ridiculous basis of classification no doubt. But the *Sarvabhauma* king enjoys one characteristic feature—to him the whole world is bound. The conqueror-king of Kautilya has vassal-kings under him, whose land he must not covet for fear of causing provocation to the *circle of states*. The conqueror-king of Kautilya represents a dynamic ideal, the static ideal is reached by a *Chaturanto-raja.*[1] Just as in the mediaeval Europe an ambitious ruler would aspire to the status of the Byzantine Emperor, and Charlemagne was a faithful follower of the ideal of universal sovereignty,—so the typical king of the Niti-sastra and the Arthasastra, and of the latter in particular, would not find a stable equilibrium until he is the sole monarch "up to the very ends uninterrupted." [2]

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[1] The 15th Book of the Arthasastra is not really a part of the book, but deals with the plan of the Sastra.

[2] Bk. I, Ch. 6. In Bk. III, Ch. I, while dealing with the sources of law, Kautilya says that the king who administers justice according to *Dharma Nyaya*, etc., can be a *Chaturantoraja*. Kautilya's idea of the whole world bounded by the four quarters is to be found in Bk. IX, Ch. I.

[3] *Aitareya Brahmana*, VIII, i. 39 (quoted by Radhakumud Mukerjee in his *Fundamental Unity of India*; see also *Ibid*, VIII, 4, 1.

[4] Aurobindo Ghose, *Ideal of Human Unity*, p. 39. Dante also put forward a plea for a universal dominion.

[5] The conception of the Holy Roman Empire in the European middle ages illustrates this ideal—see Ch. V, *Political Ideals* by Delisle Burns.

In the Chinese Politics "*Hoangti*" expresses the same ideal. See "A, B, C of Chinese Civilisation," p. 17 (in Bengali) by Benoy. Sarkar. It is interesting to note that Asoka tried to realise this ideal in the religious sphere. Human mind all over the world delights in the conception of unity.

From their idealizing the conception of universal sovereignty, it follows as a logical corollary, that neither Kautilya nor Sukra can conceive of states independent of each other, enjoying what is called "Renaissance Sovereignty." After the mediaeval political ideals had faded away, there appeared on the European canvas certain states independent of each other and each enjoying established government, and political theorists began to adjust their theories to the changed environment. The theory which they then formulated and which served as a mirror of the political conditions of Europe of that age cannot be an adequate interpretation of the characteristic features of the modern state—in fact the modern state is not economically or politically independent of other states.[3] The vacuum which existed between independent states, and which resulted in constant fighting, was sought to be filled up by the Law of Nature and International law.[4] International law as a solution of the interstatal problem has not proved a success. We might imagine that both Kautilya and Sukra with the help of *a priori* method discussed that the political equilibrium sought to be achieved among a group of states in a state of *Matsyanyaya* with each other, will be of an extremely unstable character [1]—however much the modern states may pay lip-service to rules of international morality. Both Kautilya and Sukra—and the latter in particular [2]—are of the opinion that man never does his duty unless threatened by the *danda* of the king.[3] If this be their estimate of man, a moral being, what more can we expect of states possessing no conscience like man and obeying no common superior. And thus the concept of *Sarvabhauma* fits in well with their estimate of human nature.[4]

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[1] Machiavelli's static ideal would be well represented by a king of *United Italy* only.

[2] Fichte is of opinion that expansion is the *Dharma* of every civilised state and universal monarchy the goal.

[3] In this connection see the essay " The State and Society " in the *Theory of the State, Bedford Lectures*, and also pp. 173-4 in *Recent Developments in European Thought*, edited by Marvin.

[4] Maine, *Ancient Law*, Ch. IV.

VIII

The function of conquest is one of the many functions of the Sukraic king no doubt; but it would be truer to say that the main proposition of the Arthasastra is aggrandizement, pure and simple. Hence, the more the emphasis on the doctrine of aggrandizement, the less is the respect for religion and morality. The Nitisastra does not separate politics from ethics as the Arthasastra does—as a matter of fact the Nitisastra is *not merely* political, but is a system of morals, social, political and economic.

Kautilya has been severely taken to task by Bana, the author of Kadambari for his espousing the cause of pernicious political ethics in the following words: "Is there anything that is righteous for those for whom the science of

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[1] Dante points out that "the world was never quiet except under the monarch Augustus Caesar" and hence seeks to prove that the principle of unity is essential. See D. Burns, *Pol. Ideals*, p. 108.

[2] Ch. IV, Sec. 1, lines 92-98.

[3] *Cf. Manu*, Ch. VII, 22.

[4] Of course unity need not be under *one ruler*, but Kautilya and Sukra could not conceive of that—a world federation.

Kautilya, merciless in its precepts, rich in cruelty, is an authority; whose teachers are priests habitually hard-hearted with practice of witchcraft; to whom ministers, always inclined to deceive others, are councillors; whose desire is always for the goddess of wealth that has been cast away by thousands of kings; who are devoted to the application of destructive sciences; and to whom brothers, affectionate with natural cordial love, are fit victims to be murdered."[1] Bana is both right and wrong in his estimate of Kautilya and his Arthasastra. Had Bana been careful in distinguishing between the standards of public and private morality he would not have been so "merciless" in his criticism of the Arthasastra.[2] The Kautilyan king in his private life is an ideal king, because "with his organs of sense under his control, he shall keep away from hurting the women and property of others, avoid not only lustfulness, even in dream, but also falsehood, haughtiness, and evil proclivities; and keep away from unrighteous and uneconomical transactions;"[3] but when the "good" of the state requires it, he must be prepared to practise treachery, deceit, hypocrisy and sacrilege, if need be. Thus in order to get rid of a courtier who is dangerous to the safety of the kingdom, and who cannot be put down in open daylight, a spy is sent out by the king to instigate the brother of the seditious minister and to take him to the king for an interview. The king promises to confer upon him the property of his brother and causes him to murder the minister, and when he has killed his brother, he is also put to death then and there as a fratricide.[4]

Again in the next chapter,[5] the king, if in need of filling up his treasury, may set up a temple with an idol erected during the night, and taking advantage of the religious credulity of his subjects he may thus collect money, or by another device the king may get rid of a seditious person and at the same time replenish his treasury. A quarrel is got up between the members of a seditious family and poisoners previously engaged may administer poison to one of them. The other party is accused of the offence and their property confiscated.[1] Or again, a spy, under the garb of a physician, may declare a healthy person of seditious character to be unhealthy and under the pretext of administering drugs he may administer poison.[2] Thus we see, that for the revenue and safety of the kingdom no measure is too mean to be employed. Kautilya "did not at all deny the excellence of the moral virtues, but he refused to consider them as essential to, or conditions of, the political virtues." Kautilya's "political man is as entirely dissociated from all standards of conduct save success in the establishment and extension of governmental power, as is the 'economic man' of the orthodox school from all save success in the creation of wealth."[3] The first principle in Kautilya's Arthasastra is the safety of the State and to this end the dictates of morality are subordinated. This moral indifferentism to problems of politics, which has paved the way for the complete separation of politics from the apron strings of ethics, has earned for him as much odium as Machiavelli has to bear by being called "Machiavellian."[4] Yet the Kautilyan king is not immoral in his private life. We might say that Kautilya is not immoral, but unmoral in his politics.

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[1] Preface X, of the English translation of Arthasastra (Shamasastri).

[2] Bana is right in this sense that the Kautilyan king would never shrink from using the most obnoxious means in order to gain his political objective.

[3] Artha., Bk. 1, Ch. 7.

[4] Bk. V, Ch. 1. This chapter recounts similar measures against seditious persons.

[5] Bk. V, Ch. 2.

The same thing may be said about his attitude towards religion. Kautilya himself is an orthodox Brahmin and the

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid*—for the filling up of treasury the Superintendent of Religious Institutions may collect the property of the gods and carry that to the king's treasury. Something like confiscation of *Devottar* property.

[3] The above two sentences within quotation marks refer to Machiavelli, but the author might have written them in connection with Kautilya.

[4] *Kautilya* literally means "Duplicity Personified." The name *Chanakya* stands for unscrupulous statecraft and diplomacy.

Kautilyan king is to receive daily benedictions from sacrificial priests and is to salute both a cow with its calf and a bull by circum-ambulating them, and also to personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brahmans learned in the Vedas, of cattle and of sacred places. But when the "good" of the state requires it he will not hesitate to prostitute religious institutions for political expediencies. This will be evident from an instance just given, *viz.*, setting up an idol during the night for replenishment of the treasury. We might say that Kautilya is not irreligious, but unreligious in his politics.[1]

This moral and religious indifferentism of Kautilya is seen in all its hideousness when we view the Kautilyan king from the standpoint of a warrior. For conquering an enemy poisoners and prostitutes [2] are freely recommended. For killing an enemy king when he visits a place of worship for purposes of worship or pilgrimage various devices are recommended in minute detail.[3] Again in order to infuse enthusiastic spirit among his own men and frighten his enemy's people the Kautilyan king may give publicity to his power of omniscience and his power of holding intercourse with the gods.[4] Needless to say these are magical tricks [5] and abuse of religious institutions.

Sukra has not been able to free politics from ethics—in fact his conception of Nitisastra as a comprehensive system of morals stands in his way. The Nitisastra mainly enumerates various kinds of duties while the Arthasastra enumerates the methods by which a king may aggrandize himself. It is significant in this connection that Sukra nowhere mentions Kautilya, but he mentions Manu in at least two places.[1] The political virtues in the Nitisastra are almost conditioned by moral virtues, though in the sphere of foreign relations and of warfare, he sometimes follows Kautilya, though at a respectful distance. Sukra has also got a spy system, but it is not for nefarious purposes: it is used by the king for the purpose of knowing as to who among his subjects are accusing his conduct and for what, so that he might get rid of his faults.[2] In one passage the Sukraic king is advised to collect funds by hook or by crook,[3] but in the next breath the king is threatened with the destruction of his kingdom if he collects funds by forsaking morality.[4] The fact is that Sukra has always an uneasy conscience whenever his king tries to subordinate morality to politics. That Sukra has not been able to distinguish clearly between the standards of public and private morality is evident from the passage where our author is unable to explain why robbery and bloodshed should be excusable in kings, while they are condemnable in ordinary robbers.[5] He can only explain it by assuming that morality is relative. Had he pushed to the logical extreme this line of thought, he could have found out that what is immoral in an individual is not necessarily so in a king who is acting on behalf of the state. Sukra is nowhere an advocate of absolute morality;[6] but it is curious that the Sukraic king does not employ those sinister methods at least in internal politics. In external politics, for the purpose of overpowering the enemy, Sukra, like Kautilya, advocates the use of prostitutes and dancers.[1] He seems not to condemn telling lies on the part of a king like Srikrishna[2] and even advocates the use of "blockade" in warfare.[3] He also appreciates the effectiveness of warfare conducted against the dictates of morality and as a proof of this quotes the well-known incidents of Rama *vs.* Bali, Krishna *vs.* Yavana and Indra *vs.* Namuchi.[4] Notwithstanding all these he cannot help enumerating some rules which apply to warfares conducted according to the dictates of morality[5]—and here he appears before us as an ardent follower of Manu who prohibits the use of hidden weapons, and barbed, poisoned or burning arrows.[6] In matters of internal politics Sukra seems to be dominated by moral judgments, while in those of external affairs, politics and ethics seem to dominate each other, his emphatic enunciation of the theory of relativity of virtues and vices notwithstanding.[7]

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[1] Machiavelli viewed religious sentiment as an important instrument of state policy.

[2] Compare Louis XIV's policy towards the Stuart kings of England ; Artha. Bk, XI, Ch. 1; Bk, XII, Ch. 2 ; Manu also recommends wholesale poisoning of foodstuffs, forage and water. See *Manu Samhita*, Ch. VII, 195.

[3] Thus weapons are kept inside an idol. See Bk. XII, Ch. 5.

[4] Bk. XIII, Ch. 1. Spies are concealed in the interior of hollow images and they speak to the king. The next chapter (Bk. XIII, Ch. 2) deals with the sinister methods by which an enemy king can be got under power.

[5] Besides magical tricks there are some chapters on witchcraft (Artha., Bk. XIV). Witchcraft is, properly speaking, a part of the art of war. See Hopkins' article in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1889, p. 312.

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[1] Ch. I, lines 418-19; Ch. IV, Sec. 7, lines 851-52.

[2] Ch. I, lines 260-65.

[3] Ch. IV, Sec. 2, lines 3-4.

[4] *Ibid*, lines 15-16.

[5] Sukra. Ch. V, lines 65-72;—compare "Alexander the Great and the Robber-chieftain."

[6] Because in Sukra's philosophy there is room for wine, gambling, anger, sensuousness and cupidity. See also Ch. IV, Sec. 7, lines 664-67, where the Brahmans are advised to take up arms to kill the wicked Kshatriyas. See Ch. V, lines 62-73.

IX

We have seen that Sukra has not been able to free politics from ethics, though in one or two places he tries to do so. His conception of Law illustrates this attitude very clearly. Sukra has got a clear conception of what Holland calls 'positive law.' In a passage, Sukra says that "the following laws are to be always promulgated by the king," and then goes on to enumerate the various laws which the king should announce by beat of drums and by placards and posters. In the event of disobedience to these laws adequate punishment is meted out to the offenders.[1] Thus we see that the Sukraic king is a law-making sovereign. But—and here the influence of ethics and sacred literature comes in—the king is always to decide cases according to the dictates of the Dharmasastras,[2] so much so that the king commits a sin if he administers the secular interests otherwise than in accordance with the spirit of the Dharmasastras.[3] Again any one can have a retrial if he pleads that the decision of the king is against Dharma.[4] In another place it is said that the king should administer *Smriti* in the morning and *Nyaya* in the noon.[5] Again one of the essential requisites in the administration of justice is *Smriti-sastra*[6] and to crown all a court of justice has been defined as "a place where the study of the social, economic and political interests of men takes place according to the dictates of Dharma Sastras."[7] Here we find the Sukraic king, not a law-making sovereign, but a law-administering sovereign. Now then the question is, who makes the law? The answer to this, according to Sukra, would probably be this. There is the law or Dharma uncreated: rules of conduct for the various castes and orders according to this Dharma are set down by the sages in their Dharma-sastras.[8] The king is there to administer this law as declared by the Sages.[9] He may promulgate fresh

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[1] Ch. V, lines 31-3.

[2] Ch. V, 118-9

[3] Ch. IV, Sec. 7, lines 740-4. Compare *Manu Samhita*, Ch., VII, 195, 196.

[4] Ch. IV, Sec. 7 lines 725-27—an example of historical method.

[5] *Ibid* lines 716-24 —*cf.* the rules of modern warfare.

[6] Manu Ch. VII, 90, 91, 92, 93. These sutras of Manu contradict sutras 195, 196 of the same chapter.

[7] Ch. V, lines 70-72—See Mackenzie's *Manual of Ethics*, pp. 354-7. While on this point of relativity it is interesting to learn as Adam Smith remarks (*Theory of Moral Senti*

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ments, Part V, Sec. II) that "in the reign of Charles II a degree of licentiousness was deemed the characteristic of a liberal education." See footnote I, *Manual of Ethics,* p. 356, compare Sukra, Ch. I, lines 215-16. Compare the *Ethos* of the educated community of Bengal in the early 19th century.

[1] Ch I, lines 587-626.

[2] Ch. IV, Sec. 5, lines 9-11, 18-19, 22, 83-84.

[3] Ch. IV, Sec. 5, lines 535-6.

[4] *Ibid,* lines 549-50.

[5] *Ibid,* line 106,—"Nyaya" means king-made laws.

[6] *Ibid,* lines 72-3.

[7] *Ibid,* lines 83-4.

[8] Compare the Stoic idea of the Law of Nature and the modern 'intuitionist' philosophy.

[9] We are to resort to the intuition of the sages, probably because their reason is not depraved. So Aristotle says "To invest the law then with authority is, it seems, to invest God and intelligence only."—*Politics,* p. 154 (tr. by Welldon).

laws, but they must not supersede the Sastras and the new laws must have their basic principles rooted in Dharma. So far it is clear, but who is to see whether the king-made laws are or are not in accordance with Dharma? To this Sukra furnishes no clear answer, but it is to be presumed that in a conflict between the king-made law and the Dharma, the former is to go to the wall; since the application of the law is in the hands of judges well-versed in the Dharm-sastras.[1]

Kautilyan conception of Law is in keeping with his conception of politics freed from the trammels of sacred literature. In his Arthasastra he distinguishes four kinds of law, viz. *Dharma* (sacred law), *Vyabhahara* (evidence), *Charitra* (history) and *Rajasasana* (edicts of kings) and the king is advised to administer justice according to these four kinds of law. Should there be any conflict between *Charitra* and *Dharma* or between *Vyabhahara* and *Dharma* then the matter shall be settled in accordance with sacred law; but "whenever sacred law is in conflict with rational law (king's law) then reason shall be held authoritative; for there the original text (on which the sacred law has been based) is not available."[2] It is but reasonable to assume that Kautilya, who does not scruple to abuse religious institutions for purposes of State-craft, should bestow on the king-made law a status superior to that of sacred law. But it is in theory only, because the Kautilyan king is mainly a law-administering sovereign,[3] as will be evident from the fact that the Kautilyan king is advised to maintain the world in accordance with the injunctions of the triple-vedas, wherein the duties of the four *varnas* and the four *asramas* are defined[1] and also because of the fact that for the administration of justice three members acquainted with sacred law and three ministers are required.[2] However in all this we get a glimpse of the distinction between the formal and the material sources of law.

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[1] Ch. IV, Sec. 5, lines 23-28, 40, 50-51. But Sukraic king is advised not to tamper with time-honoured customs even though they contradict the Sastras. This is nothing but a counsel of expedience. See Ch. IV, Sec. 5, lines, 94-101.

[2] Artha. Bk III. Ch. I (Shamastri). Evidently the reason of the king is implied.

[3] No Hindu writer can get over the fact that there are certain caste duties which are eternal. Jayaswal says, (*Hindu Politics*, part II, p. 152): "He could make new laws according to the Arthasastra, according to Manu he could not do so; but when he could make laws he passed only regulatory laws and not laws substantive or laws making him arbitrary." But the Sukraic positive laws are not *regulatory* laws.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Asoka was mainly a law-making sovereign. The regulations formulated in the Second Minor Rock Edict, and specially those relating to the protection of animal life, were rigorously enforced and thus the liberty of the Hindus in this matter was seriously curtailed.

In concluding this study we might point out that both Sukra and Kautilya conceived of the state as a corporate body as will be evident from their theory of *Saptanga*, but that neither of them, properly speaking, had any theory of the state. Both, and Kautilya in particular, were dominated by the category of kingship. Both viewed the state as a means, which neither created rights,[3] nor created duties,[4] but created *order*. The individual was *generally*[5] left to realise his own self in this order created by the *danda* of the king. The state or political organization was a necessity to the individual, because otherwise the three aims of life, *viz.*, *dharma*, *artha*, and *kama* (*trivargas*) could not be attained; or in other words, there could be no morality, no property and no family life without the state.[6]

(*Concluded.*)

AJITKUMAR SEN

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[1] Bk. I, ch. 3.

[2] Bk. III, ch. 1.

[3] They had no conception of rights.

[4] Most of these duties are eternal and defined in the Sastras.

[5] In Arthasastra, in some spheres, the state-action was comprehensive.

[6] Kautilya is dominated by materialism, *i.e.*, by *artha*; see Bk. I, ch. 7. Sukra's philosophy is more Synthetic: he seeks to harmonize *dharma*, *artha*, *kama* and *moksha*; see ch. III, lines 2-5.

GLOOM AND GLEAM

I.

Slaughter and Sacrifice.

A man can lose his life in drunken brawl
  And even lose it, saving helpless child,
A-play in window high, from fatal fall
  Or, maiden pure from lustful man-beast wild.
In varied ways they all lose life's love cling,
  In all the death is death but doesn't it matter,
Where things are hidden in One that is no thing,
  Be it self-sacrifice or be 't self-slaughter?

II.

Flesh and Clay.

Thy body hate. Flesh is but clay,
  Red water is thy blood,
Thy vital heat is but that fire
  Thou tramplest in the mud.
Thy breath is but the air that blows
  From noisesome pit thro' drain;
Thy light within is light without,
  Put out by cloud and rain.
Thy counsel's wise, O sapient sire,
  List! th' song is from above :—
"Love that without as that within,
  Let hate not touch sweet love."

III.

Fortune and Misfortune.

Misfortune's scorpion whips have lashed
Clean out my timid breath.
Now counsel ye, the wise of earth,
To lay this horrid wraith—
All my sobs and all my tears
Have left my heart unclean,
Conjure I will Him by His name
I care not He's unseen.
His word comes, winged by light within,
"Misfortune's sweet and pure.
I'll teach thee how in silent joy
Misfortune to endure.
To be the Moon the Sunlight claims,
Misfortune, fortune are but names,
The life remains nor short nor long.
The change 's in tune but one the song."

IV.

Pride and Praise.

Ah! what of pride within thee lie—
What all in thee admire
Will scourge thee when suspected least
Or build for hope the bier.
Ah! if thy pride be for thy God,
In thee if God they praise,
Unseen will peace with joy abide
Thro' love's unending days.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

NEW YORK INTERNATIONAL HOUSE

International House, New York City, overlooking Grant's Tomb, the majestic Hudson River and the Palisades beyond, is the most tremendous experience I have had in New York as a student from Canada. It is an experience that has just begun. I believe my mingling there with students from all parts of the world will do a very great deal in rounding out my education, my understanding. If I am not a cosmopolite at heart at the end of my stay here, it will certainly not be for lack of contacts.

International House was built by Rockefeller, the American multi-millionaire, at the cost of more than $2,000,000. It has a beautiful site beside Riverside Drive and the furnishings are exquisite in their beauty and simplicity. Four hundred men and 125 women students of seventy countries including India and Ceylon, live at International House, and hundreds more have the right to frequent the lobbies and living rooms, the cafeteria and the gymnasium. By charging a very moderate sum for accommodation and membership International House endeavours to clear running expenses. This is its second year and it appears to be flourishing. Only those students who are registered in one of the institutions of higher learning of Greater New York may qualify for membership.

Carved over the door of International House are the words, "That Brotherhood May Prevail." It is significant of the atmosphere pervading the entire building. International House appears to be fulfilling its object, which as defined in its Charter "is the improvement of the social, intellectual, spiritual and physical condition of men and women students, without discrimination because of religion, nationality, race, colour, or sex, and from any land, who are studying in the colleges, universities and professional schools of the City of New York."

Harry E. Edmonds, Director of International House, in an address recently on "The Spiritual Significance of International House," gave the outstanding qualities of it as Personality, International Character, Race Spirit, Intellectual Character and Spiritual Quality. The furnishings that gave it personality, he said, were not luxury but "real beauty and art which lift us out of the commonplace and create the will to do and to be." Seventy-one countries and thirty-eight American States were represented in the membership. International House was a village in itself, a home which meant hard work, consideration, loyalty, sacrifice and love. While members frowned on intellectual laggards, he said that they also pointed out that they were receiving education in terms of life at International House, not life in terms of education. In referring to religion, he told the students not to stick their candles right up against their neighbours' noses. Altogether, it was a human, inspiring address and the homely candle-lighted supper of salad, rolls, hot cocoa and cookies was one that will long be remembered by the new students.

While the five hundred members enjoyed a social half-hour in the handsome lobby before the first open Sunday night supper upstairs, the babel of voices was bewildering. Seventy nations met there to shake hands, to bow with quaint formality, to laugh, to joke, to talk of serious matters. English was the prevailing language, but bits of German, of French, of Spanish, of Chinese, of Russian, of fifty other tongues, were interpolated.

A young woman from Mexico City with the handsome aquiline features and the charming manners of the Spanish, was in New York to study vocational guidance. One Russian girl was here to study law. A young German widow, whose husband was an English professor, was studying with a view to becoming an American journalist in Japan and China. She welcomed the opportunity last night of meeting Oriental students.

There is a British group, under which all members of the British Empire are grouped except the Hindus who have their own organization. Mr. Hunter, of Union Seminary, New York City, is Bureau Secretary for the British and he announces that a picnic over to the Palisades in New Jersey will probably be held in the near future. There will be students there from Canada, Jamaica, British Guiana, the Gold Coast of Africa, Australia, New Zealand, England, Ireland, Newfoundland, Scotland and South Africa.

The British Empire was well represented at the opening meeting.

"If these are sisters of yours, I'm a cousin," laughed a white-haired woman from South Africa as she brought up two Canadians to meet me.

Other countries represented at International House this year are the United States, which has a twenty-five per cent. quota in order to give foreigners contacts with worthwhile Americans, Albania, Armenia, Austria, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Chile, China, Columbia, Costa Rica, Czecho-Slovakia, Danzig, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Holland, Hungary, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Korea, Liberia, Lithuania, Mexico, Norway, Nicauragua, Persia, The Phillipine Islands, Poland, Porto Rico, Russia, Roumania, Serbia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria and Turkey.

While the S. S. *Clayton* made a circle of Manhattan Island the other day, with four hundred members of International House on board as guests of Mayor Hyland, I met a New Zealand young woman who had recently arrived in New York by way of Vancouver and Canada. She confided to me that many of those she had met, and not all of them, Americans, had weird ideas about New Zealand.

"Why, you speak very good English!" one of these in charge of registration at Columbia University who was surprised enough to comment.

"I suppose they thought I should speak Maori," she laughed.

New Zealand is in Holland and it is also near Finland, she had learned since her arrival here. But that is not the worst in her opinion. It is the American sense of humour.

"The poor dears—they have no subtlety," she remarked after describing the obvious humorous sallies which her professors had made in class and at which the students had roared. She contrasted Life and Punch, with a heavy leaning towards Punch. She is thoroughly British in her ideas of humour, I found. As a Canadian, I could appreciate both sides of the question.

New Zealand admitted later, however, in her square fashion that the obvious "personal touch" which she finds so odious in the trite "I am very pleased to have met you" with which Americans acknowledge even the most casual introduction, was agreeable in the shops where the saleswomen took such a courteous interest in their customers' needs.

International House is staffed by all nations. Miss Winnifred Forsythe, a Canadian woman, is Health Director in the women's dormitory. Two other Canadians have charge of the information bureau at the big front door for periods each day. A dainty little Chinese girl sits seriously at a desk near the women's dormitory elevator, an Armenian pleasantly discharges his duties as House Manager, a Hindu student with cropped hair has another post—it appeals to the imagination. If International House is a sample of Heaven, which must necessarily be very cosmopolitan in nature, the hereafter offers delightful possibilities.

MYRTLE B. PATTERSON

"ORISSA IN THE MAKING"—A NOTE IN REPLY

"Orissa in the Making," by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, which has been published with a foreword by the distinguished scholar Sir Edward A. Gait, the retired Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, has been noticed of late in two Calcutta journals not with a view to give an account of the work to the public but with the distinct and avowed object of placing one or two passages under objection which occur in the book in connection with the history of the present Ruling House of Mayurbhanj.

What appears to have proved most irritating to the critics of the book or rather of the passages referred to above is the statement that at one time the Chohan rulers of Patna-cum-Sambalpur became overlords of eighteen Garhjat States including the State of Mayurbhanj. It has been distinctly stated in the book that the District Gazetteer of Sambalpur is wholly responsible for this statement. At page 22 of this Gazetteer (published in 1909) we meet with this passage that the "*suzerainty*" of the Chohan ruler Baliar Singh "was acknowledged by the chiefs of the eighteen Garhjats," and the list of these 18 Garhjat States ends with the names of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar (line 7). It has been suggested by a critic of "Orissa in the Making" that Mr. O'Malley, the editor of the Gazetteer, depends for this statement upon Babu Nandakisor Bahidar, a clerk in the district office at Sambalpur. Mr. O'Malley has not acknowledged this debt, nor is it probable that the statement was based upon such an authority. Mr. O'Malley compiled and edited the District Gazetteer of Sambalpur mainly on the basis of the facts recorded in 1867 by Sir Alexander Grant in the Gazetteer of the

Central Provinces, and in this Gazetteer of Sir Alexander Grant this very statement regarding the suzerainty of the Chohan rulers occurs. It cannot be said that Babu Nandakisor Bahidar supplied information in this matter to the author of the Gazetteer of 1867, for in that year Babu Nandakisor was merely a child aged 5 or 6 years. Be that as it may, the author of "Orissa in the Making" cannot be taken to task for the alleged inaccuracy of a statement which has not been hitherto challenged, and has been allowed to be accepted by the public as true since 1867.

The next point for consideration is what relates to the origin and antiquity of the present Ruling House of Mayurbhanj. It should be mentioned that facts which have been relied upon in determining this question were supplied by the late renowned ruler of Mayurbhanj, Maharaja Sri Ramchandra Bhanj Deo himself to Mr. L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, C.I.E., to help Mr. Ramsay in compiling his Gazetteer of the Feudatory States of Orissa. Mr. Ramsay held the appointment of the Political Agent of the Orissa Feudatories from 1905 to 1920 and his highly valuable Gazetteer was published in 1910 when Maharaja Sri Ramchandra Bhanj Deo was alive. Mr. Ramsay informs us at page 239 of his Gazetteer that the annals of the Mayurbhanj Raj family as well as the local tradition disclose the fact that Jai Singh, a relative of the Raja of Jaipur in Rajputana, came to Orissa to visit the shrine of Jagannath at Puri and got the Taluk of Hariharpur in Mayurbhanj in dowry from the Gajapati rulers of Orissa on establishing a marital connection with the Gajapati Rajas, and either Jai Singh himself or his eldest son became the ruler of the whole of the State of Mayurbhanj on conquering Mayuradhwaja who was then in possession of the bulk of the State, being enthroned as a ruler at Bamanghati. Now, it goes without saying that the temple of Jagannath did not come into existence earlier than the first part of the 12th century A.D., while the Bamanghati Bhanjas of epigraphic records are known to have founded their rule at

Bamanghati not later than the 9th century A.D. The attempt, therefore, on the part of some persons to make the Rajput ancestor of the present Ruling House of Mayurbhanj a descendant of the old-time Bhanjas is abortive. Moreover, the family annals of the Mayurbhanj House as referred to above, clearly suggest that the last representative of the old Bhanja Rulers of Bamanghati of peacock origin (according to the legendary account) was ousted from the State by a full-blooded Rajput of Jaipur House to found the present dynasty of the rulers. It will not be doing a good service to the Mayurbhanj House if that House is sought to be affiliated to the Bamanghati Bhanjas of old epigraphic records. It may also be mentioned here that Mr. Mazumdar published this account of Mayurbhanj in the September number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for 1916, and no voice was then raised against that statement.

It is abundantly clear from what has been spoken of Mr. Cobden-Ramsay that in the matter of history of Orissa he is a good recognised authority. The first two sentences of his letter addressed recently to the author of "Orissa in the Making," may be profitably quoted to show what the author of the Feudatory Gazetteer considers to be the merit of the work of Mr. Majumdar which has caused some irritation to some persons. The sentences are: "I must apologise for my long delay in acknowledging receipt of your book 'Orissa in the Making,' but I have wanted to read it carefully before writing to you and as you will understand it is a work which merits careful reading. May I be permitted to offer you my sincere admiration of the deep scholarship and research you display in your work, the result of years of laborious research and study."

As to the comparative situation of the rulers of group I of the Sambalpur Tract and of the rulers of Group III to which the ruler of Mayurbhanj belongs, no special remark seems called for, since the grouping of the rulers referred to here, has been made by the Government of India. It is thus clear beyond all doubts that the facts relating to Mayurbhanj as were published previously from 1867 to 1916 and were never challenged by any scholar, have now been collected together and recorded in 'Orissa in the Making.'

X. Y. Z.

SUFISTIC MUSINGS

"My Love"
To me Thou art no "Idle dream"
My Love, my soul, my heart.
To Thee I pour my morning hymn
My joys and woes impart.

* * * *

From friend and foe at last I fly
I fly to distant land
Let, Fate now bring what bring it can
With pale and shivering hands.

O ! fly not, fly not, fly not so
With thee I, too, will gladly go
What Heaven and Hell, what they to me ?
A Hell with thee is Heaven for me.

* * * *

"My mother"
To me, thou art my mother dear
More than even God can be
For though I sin thou lov'st me yet
But He'll give a hell to me.

A. GHAFFAR

A NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF CHAUTH

In an unsigned article published in the May number of the *Calcutta Review*, it is stated " Danvers tells us that in 1615 a treaty of peace was concluded by Gonzalo Pinto da Fonseca at Daman, between the Portuguese and King Choutia, with whom there had been some differences on account of the latter having laid claim to certain lands which were also held to belong to Portuguese territory " (Danvers, Vol. II, pp. 177-178). The arrangement which earned for the Raja of Ramnagar his title of Choutia must have been concluded earlier. There is positive evidence in favour of this inference. Documents relating to the above-mentioned treaty have been published in the first volume of Biker's *Tratados*, and there the agents or envoys of the Raja of Sarcetu, as the Raja of Ramnagar is called by the Portuguese, demanded that the '*grasso*' known as Chauth should be paid in Mamudis, and, as villagers usually did not make a correct return about the revenue, an enquiry as to the amount should be made by a conscientious Portuguese deputed by the Viceroy. Reference to Chauth has been made in a treaty concluded between the Portuguese Captain of Daman and the above mentioned Raja, concluded in 1635, and ratified in 1670 (Biker, Vol. II). It was agreed that the amount of Chauth to be paid by six Parganas should be 17 per cent. of the total revenue, while in other parganas the amount by mutual consent varied from 14 to 10½ per cent. This is, however, not the first mention of the tribute styled Chauth, for we find a royal *alvara* dated March 19, 1604, commanding the Portuguese officers to pay Chauth in cash, and not in goods, as they had hitherto done

(Biker, Vol. II, payment in old horses is particularly mentioned). That leaves no reasonable doubt that the tribute, Chauth, was exacted by the Raja of Ramnagar before 1604 or long before Shivaji's birth. As to its nature the conclusion of the writer is amply confirmed by the documents published by Biker.

Oxford. S. N. Sen

HISTORICAL RECORDS AT GOA

(*An Addendum*)

Calcutta Review, Vol. 17, No. 1 (October, 1925), page 16, before the last paragraph beginning with "The good relation," add the following :

"Some slight changes to this treaty were suggested from Lisbon and Article VI was completely omitted. These suggestions were not accepted by Raghuji and the treaty became null and void."

INDIAN CENTRAL COTTON COMMITTEE

We have been requested to publish the following:

"The Indian Central Cotton Committee will award in January, 1926 6 to 8 research studentships tenable from April, 1926, for the encouragement of cotton research. Applications are invited from distinguished graduates[1] of Indian Universities which ordinarily should be submitted in the first instance to the Director of Agriculture of the applicant's Province or State not later than December 20th, 1925. Selected applicants must be prepared to attend at Bombay for interview at their own expense.

The research studentships are of the value of Rs. 150 per mensem and, subject to a satisfactory report on the first year's work, will be tenable for two years. Successful candidates will be required to devote their whole time to research work during their tenure of the studentships, will be placed under an experienced research worker actually engaged on cotton research for training in research methods and will be expected to carry out a definite investigation under general direction.

In allocating students to the various institutions in India offering facilities for such students consideration will be given to the student's wishes, but the Committee reserve absolute discretion in this respect.

The Committee desire it to be clearly understood that no guarantee whatever of subsequent employment is given or implied by the grant of a scholarship. The Committee believe, however, that there is a demand in India, for qualified research workers and will keep possible employers advised of the names and qualifications of suitable candidates.

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[1] An Honours degree in the special subject selected, or its equivalent is the minimum qualification.

The Committee reserve the right to withdraw the scholarship of any student whose conduct or progress is unsatisfactory.

Students to be awarded in 1926 are provisionally allotted to the different branches of agricultural science as follows:—

Botany	Cotton-Breeding. Cotton-Physiology. Cotton-Mycology.
Entomology	Cotton Pests.
Cotton Technology ...	Textile Physics.

Applications should state the candidate's age, present employment (if any), particulars of any research work already carried out and full details of University career with copies of testimonials and certificates which will not be returned. Candidates who have applied before should state this fact on their application.

All applications must be in the prescribed form, copies of which have been supplied to Directors of Agriculture and to the Registrars of Indian Universities. Forms may also be obtained from the undersigned. These forms will only be supplied to applicants who appear to possess the necessary qualifications.

Applications must reach the SECRETARY, INDIAN CENTRAL COTTON COMMITTEE, not later than December 20th, 1925.

(Sd.) B. C. BUIT,

25 Wodehouse Road,
Fort, Bombay.

Secretary,
Indian Central Cotton Committee."

THE MINARE

They waft their incense to the sky
Beneath the cold-night stars
And rear their marble altars high
To Venus and to Mars;

Or in a pagan shrine adorn
With gems of wealth untold,
In some forgotten battle torn,
The new gods and the old.

But Master, ere the Moon hath set
Beside the Western Sea,
A Voice upon the Minaret
Is raised in prayer to Thee.

Nor any shadowed cloister, Sire,
With gilded bells of gold,
Could wake the seven stringéd Lyre
Of Faith—its tale unfold.

Till through the stillness of despair,
That land where no bird sings—
There sped Thine arrowed “call to prayer”
And touched the muted strings.

No hunter with a hunter’s fame,
May vie through moor or fen,
The jewelled arrows of Thine aim
—Into the hearts of men.

And Master, ere the Sun had set
Beside the Western Sea,
The voice upon the Minaret
Withdrew the veil for me.

Great Power of Good, All Merciful,
High Sultan, hailed Sublime,
Prince of the Fair and Beautiful,
Thou Lord of Space and Time:

If should the tears of Life atone,
Should one a moment stand alone,
Beyond the shadow of Thy Throne,
At close of Life's blind race—
To me this Gift were manifold,
Above the New World and the Old,—
Just for a moment to behold
—The Goodness in Thy Face.

MIRIEM KHUNDKAR

THE ALGAL FLORA OF THE MAIDAN TANKS

Probably many of us as we pass along Chowringhee have observed the yellowish green colour of the water of the tank just opposite to the Bengal Club and Messrs. G. F. Kellner & Co., I have on various occasions listened to discussions of people travelling in tram cars as to the cause of the colouration, and this has suggested to me the idea of writing a short note on the subject.

Early in June, 1921, Dr. P. Brühl, the University Professor of Botany, drew my attention to the coloured surface film of tanks in Ballygunge and elsewhere. Since then I have been investigating this matter, collecting specimens from different tanks in and about Calcutta. The colour varies from blue-green to yellow-green and bright orange according to season and locality. Sometimes the colour is beautifully blue-green, particularly during the months of April and May, and when the water recedes due to rapid evaporation, the edges of the tanks are lined by a shining deep-blue film.

This colour is due to the presence of innumerable individuals of unicellular plant organism belonging to a group of lower members of the plant-kingdom known to the botanists as "Algæ." In particular, they chiefly belong to that division of algæ which from their colour are called Blue-green Algæ or Cyanophyceæ.

These plants form colonies consisting of a few to hundreds of cells. These colonies are either spherical or elongate or of various fantastic shapes. They may be solid or they are more frequently sac-shaped or they form perforated aggregates (*fig. 1*). They are surrounded by a colourless deliquescent indistinctly or distinctly limited gelatinous integument. There are two species of plants present in the Maidan tank in large numbers; one of them is called *Clathrocystis æruginosa,* and the other is *Clathrocystis robusta.* The former one is much more common than the latter in fresh water tanks and pools. The latter one is of similiar habit and nature to the former, but differs from it in having its colonies surrounded by a firm, distinctly visible, gelatinous envelope and the cells are comparatively larger in dimensions. But both of them form a bright green scum floating on the surface of the water at a depth from six inches to two feet and present to the naked eye a finely granular appearance; but when the layer dries up, it is converted into a verdigris-coloured crust.

The reproduction of these plants is carried on by simple division of the individual cells. The contents of the cells are granular and blue-green.

One of the great algologists thus describes the habit of these plants, "The walls of the sac then give way, and as the expansion proceeds, orifices are formed in different parts, until the whole becomes a coarsely latticed sac or clumsy net of irregularly lobed forms. Then this becomes broken up into irregular fragments of all shapes and sizes each of which recommences the expanding growth and becomes a latticed frond" (*figs. 1 & 2*).

Clathrocystis æruginosa is distributed all over the world. It was first reported from Bombay Presidency by Hansgirg, the great algologist, and afterwards by West from India and Ceylon. I have observed it in great abundance in Madras floating freely in the Buckingham Canal during the winter season and have also collected it from a pool in the vicinity of Pareshnath Hill and near Gomoh during October last. *Clathrocystis robusta,* however, is not so widely distributed. It has been reported first by Clark from Guatemala forming the holophytic plankton of Lakes Atitlan and Amatitlan and later on by Tilden, the well known lady algologist, from Central America. I collected this plant only in the present year from the Maidan tank together with Clathrocystic æruginosa.

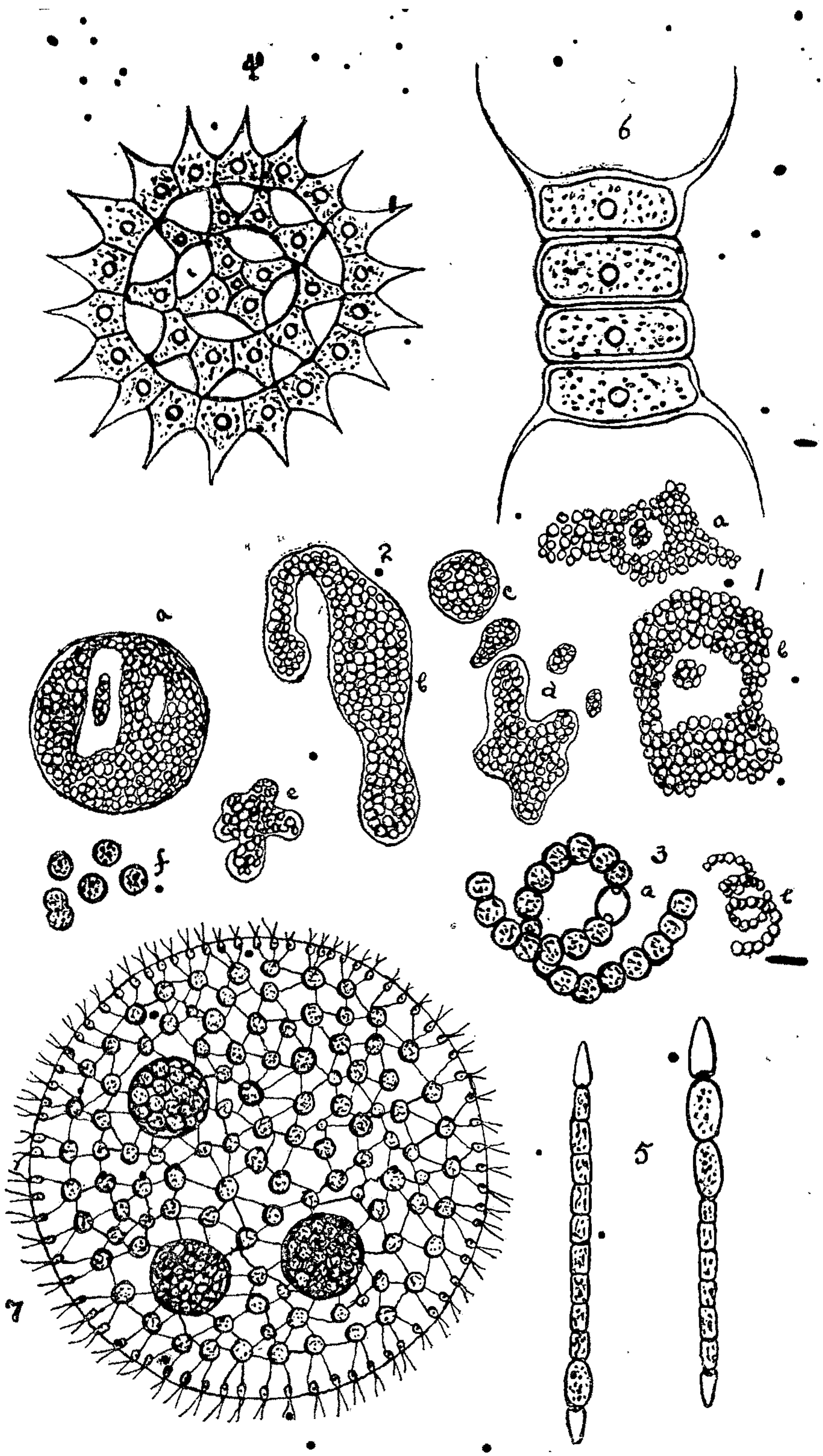

Fig. 1 (a, b), Clathrocystis Æruginosa ; Fig. 2 (a-e), Clathrocystis robusta ; Fig. 2 (f), Individual cells with contents and one in the stage of division ; Fig. 3 (a, b), Anabæna flos-aquæ var. circularis ; Fig. 4 Pediastrum Clathrata ; Fig. 5 Cylindrospermum [illegible]

They are indeed very common all over Bengal and especially so in Twenty-four Parganas and are almost invariably present in the tanks, ponds and pools near the Salt Lakes at Dhappā, which are especially used for the cultivation of fishes, and they are constantly present in canals and in creeks south of Calcutta. They have been observed in the Maidan tank referred to above during the last two years. The tank opposite to the Picture House was covered with them in the year 1922, but for some unknown reason, they disappeared from the tank in 1923, after the rainy season.

As long as there is a current in the water caused by the prevailing winds and as far as the tanks are not shaded by trees and are not covered with the fallen leaves of trees, the algæ are quite healthy and the water of the tanks remains on the whole unpolluted and free from offensive odour. But when the water is not agitated and there is a certain amount of impurities, such as fallen leaves and dirty and soapy water or oily matter thrown into the tanks by people bathing and washing their clothes in them and further sometimes by the decay of algæ themselves, as it often happens after a heavy shower of rain, when billions of bacteria accumulate and the scum thus formed on the surface spoils the water in no time and produces a very bad unhealthy smell round about them, as it is observed in the tank situated at the junction of Ritchi Road and Ballygunge Circular Road.

The distribution of these algæ is also very interesting. They spread from one tank to the other by men, beasts and birds bathing in the infested tank and carrying them to other tanks. During the rainy season the tanks overflow and these algæ are then carried to different tanks and pools through drains and ditches.

These algæ are one of the chief constituent of the so-called plankton of fresh-water pools, lakes and tanks. By plankton we mean "the aggregate of plants and animals which float passively and often are driven by the wind, according to its direction, from one end of an expanse of water to the other." *Clathrocystic æruginosa* and *Clathrocystic robusta* are the two predominant forms of algæ in the Maidan Tank, but often they are also associated with other algæ, such as *Anabæna flos-aquæ, Pediastrum clathratum* (*fig. 4*), *Cylindrospermum doryphorum,* (*fig. 5*), *Scenedesmus quadricauda* (*fig. 6*) and *Volvox globator* (*fig. 7*) etc. The last-mentioned one is a very interesting alga and for its pure green colour belongs to the class Chlorophyceae. Here the colony consists of a hollow sphere and is composed of 12,000 to 22,000 single cells, and each of the cells of the outer layer is provided with two flagella by means of which they swim freely in water. *Scenedesmus quadricauda* and *Pediastrum clathratum* also belong to the same class, as they are also green algæ. *Volvox globator* is also a most important alga of fresh-water plankton, but it was found to float in a lower stratum of water in the jhil of the Science College, Baliganj, in the year 1922; the upper surface layer of the plankton was composed of *Clathrocystis aeruginosa, Anabena* flos-aquae and others.

As regards the importance and action of the plankton flora I shall simply quote the following extracts from Dr. Brühl's essay *About Algae*, "Under the influence of sunlight the green and blue-green algae decompose the absorbed carbonic acid and deliver quantities of oxygen to the water, in which they live, three times as great as could be absorbed by the water from the atmosphere directly during the same interval of time. During bright sunshine this evolution of oxygen is very rapid, and without this action of the algae the supply of oxygen to the water would not be sufficient to keep the organisms, including fishes, alive in larger numbers. A flourishing water flora is an absolute necessity for successful pisciculture. Fishes live largely on the smaller animals forming an essential part of the fresh water plankton, and these little animals again—many of them relatives of the jhingri—live largely on floating algae. Indeed, the economical value, as far as pisciculture is concerned, of tanks, jhils, and rivers depends on the fauna which serves as a food to fishes and consequently on the algae and those microscopic members of the biological province which forms a link between the plant and animal kingdoms.

"An important question from a sanitary point of view is the question of what has been aptly called the self-purification of ponds, lakes and rivers. It is well known that such waters are often fouled by organic refuse matter and that notwithstanding that fact the waters may, after some time, become again clear and lose their offensive odour. This self-purifying operation is chiefly performed by microscopic animals and plants after sedimentation of the coarser impurities. The first to get hold of the impurities are putrefaction bacteria, the action of which results in the production of ammonia, acetic acid, sulphuretted hydrogen, peptone and various other organic compounds of complicated structure. These compounds are assimilated by plankton algae and other members of the plant kingdom. As soon as these have consumed the obnoxious substances they are swallowed by small members of the animal kingdom which in their turn serve as food to larger crustaceans and fishes. It may, however, happen that ponds and rivers are so overloaded with refuse matter that the sanitary agents referred to above are unable to fulfil their obligations and that in consequence of this state of things sulphur bacteria, oscillatorias and certain infusoria gain the upper hand. Some of these occur so constantly in contaminated waters that they can be used as indicators, the presence of which alone is a sure proof of the insanitary state of the water which has been subjected to microscopic investigation. In the process of self-purification the oxygen exhaled by algae plays an important part.

"It must be noted in this connection that the total absence of refuse and other decaying matter would soon cause the disappearance of micro-organisms; such disappearance would cause the dying-out of the smaller crustacea and this again would lead to the elimination of most of the fishes."

Detailed investigation into the algal flora of Bengal in particular and of India in general is being carried on by Dr. P. Brühl and myself in the Botanical Laboratory of the University College of Science, Baliganj and with the kind assistance of the late Dr. N. Annandale, D.Sc., C.I.E., F.R.S., collections of algæ have been made from the Chilka Lake and other parts of India.

K. P. Biswas

PEGASUS RELUCTANT

Blue and true, and love and dove are simple poesy;
But Czecho-Slovak, Bolshevism,
Jugo-Slav, and Anarchism;
Sinn-Fein, Red and Profiteer
Are samples of the words we hear,
And I confess my fancies do confuse!
In olden days, of simple ways,
We were content with easy words to rhyme,
And almost anyone could follow rule;
But now, alas, 'tis come to pass,
My Muse has balked for good this time,
And Pegasus has turned into a mule!

Lily S. Anderson

RULES FOR THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

(*Open Competition of 1926*)

"An open Competitive Examination for admission to the Indian Civil Service will be held in London in 1926. The *viva voce* test (Subject 6) will be held in July and each candidate will in due course be informed when he is to appear. The question papers for some written tests that are taken by small numbers of candidates may also be set in July. The examination in Section A subjects which are taken by all candidates will begin on the 2nd August.

The number of persons to be selected at this examination will be announced hereafter.

No person will be admitted to compete from whom the Secretary, Civil Service Commission, has not received, on or before the 15th May, 1926, an application on the prescribed form a copy of which is sent herewith. No allegation that an Application Form or a letter respecting such Form has been lost or delayed in the post will be considered by the Commissioners unless the person making such allegation produces a Post Office Certificate of Posting. Candidates who delay their applications until the last days will do so at their own risk.

Acknowledgments of such Application Forms are sent, and any candidate who has filled up and returned the printed Application Form but has not received an acknowledgment of it within four complete days should at once write to the Secretary, Civil Service Commission, Burlington Gardens, London, W. I. Failure to comply with this provision will deprive the candidate of any claim to consideration.

Candidates will be notified in June of the date and place fixed for their *viva voce* test and of the manner in which the fee (£8) is to be paid. The Time Table of the written part of the examination will be posted early in July to the address given on the Form of Application, and will contain instructions as to the time and place at which candidates are to attend.

NOTE.

If Open Competitive Examinations for the following Services, *viz.*:—

Eastern Cadetships in the Colonial Service;

Junior Grade of the Administrative Class in the Home Civil Service;

should be held in 1926 concurrently with the Open Competitive

Examination for the Indian Civil Service, candidates duly eligible in respect of age, etc., will be admitted to compete for any two or all three of these Services, subject to the following conditions :—

1. Every successful candidate who may have been admitted to compete for either the Indian or the Colonial Service (or both), as well as for the Home Service, will be called upon to declare, immediately after the announcement of the result of the competitions, whether he prefers his name to remain on the list of candidates for the Indian or Colonial Service or on the list of candidates for the Home Service.

The name of any candidate who fails to declare his choice when called upon to do so will be removed from the list of candidates for the Home Service.

2. Every successful candidate who may have been admitted to compete for both the Indian and Colonial Services will be called upon to declare, immediately after the announcement of the result of the competitions, whether he prefers his name to remain on the list of candidates for the Indian Service or on the list of candidates for the Colonial Service.

The name of any candidate who fails to declare his choice when called upon to do so will be removed from the list of candidates for the Colonial Service.

3. All declarations of choice are irrevocable.

4. Candidates for all three or any two of the above-mentioned services will be required to pay a consolidated fee of £8.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.
August, 1925."

EXAMINATIONS FOR THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

REGULATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

*** *The following Regulations, made by the Secretary of State for India in Council, are liable to alteration from year to year.*

1. An examination for admission to the Indian Civil Service, open to all qualified persons, will be held in London in July and August of each year for such number of appointments to that Service as a Secretary of State may on each occasion determine. The date of the Examination will be announced beforehand by the Civil Service Commissioners.

2. Save as hereinafter provided a candidate must be a British subject. If the candidate (being a British subject) or his father or his mother was

not born within His Majesty's Dominions and allegiance then at the time of his birth his father must have been a British subject or the subject of a state in India and such father must be or must have continued to be until his death a British subject or the subject of such State in India. Provided that a ruler or subject of any state in India in respect of whom the Governor-General in Council has made a declaration under section 96A of the Government of India Act may be considered eligible.

3. A candidate must have attained the age of twenty-one, and must not have attained the age of twenty-four on the first day of August of the year in which the Examination is held.

4. A candidate who is a Native of India must obtain a certificate of age and qualification under Regulations 2 and 3 issued under Notification of the Government of India, No. 1114, dated 12th September, 1918, and signed, should he be a resident in British India, by the Secretary to Government of the Province, or the Commissioner of the Division within which his family resides, or, should he reside in a Native State, by the highest Political Officer accredited to the State in which his family resides.

5. A candidate must be free from disease, constitutional affection, or bodily infirmity, unfitting him, or likely to unfit him for the Indian Civil Service.[1]

6. A candidate shall satisfy the Civil Service Commissioners that his character is such as to qualify him for employment in the Indian Civil Service.

7. No person who, in a previous year, accepted the offer of a nomination as a Selected Candidate for the Indian Civil Service and subsequently resigned his position as a Selected Candidate, will be admitted to the examination.

8. Should the evidence upon the above points be *prima facie* satisfactory to the Civil Service Commissioners, the Candidate, on payment of the prescribed fee, will be admitted to the Examination. The Commissioners may, however, in their discretion, at any time prior to the grant of the Certificate of Qualification hereinafter referred to, institute such further inquiries as they may deem necessary; and if the result of such inquiries in the case of any Candidate should be unsatisfactory to them in any of the above respects he will be ineligible for admission to the Indian Civil Service, and, if already selected, will be removed from the position of a Probationer.

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[1] The Civil Service Commissioners will regard no person as constitutionally fitted for appointment to the Indian Civil Service who has not been satisfactorily vaccinated within the last seven years.

9. The Examination will include the following subjects.[1] The numerical value is shown against each subject.

SECTION A.—Candidates are to take up all the subjects in this section.

		Marks.
1.	Essay	100
2.	English	100
3.	Present Day	100
4.	Everyday Science	100
5.	Auxiliary Language	100
6.	Viva Voce	300

SECTION B.—Optional Subjects.—Candidates are allowed to take up subjects in this section up to a total of 1,000 marks.

History.

7.	English History to 1660	200
8.	British History, 1660-1914	200
9.	European History, *either* Period 1 *or* Period 2	200
10.	European History, Period 3	200

Economics, Politics, Law and Philosophy.

11.	General Economics	200
12.	Economic History	100
13.	Public Economics	100
14.	Political Theory	100
15.	Political Organization	100
16.	Constitutional Law	100
17.	Private Law	200
18.	Roman Law	100
19.	International Law	100
20.	Moral Philosophy	100
21.	Metaphysics	100
22.	Logic	100
23.	Psychology	100

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[1] A Syllabus defining in general terms the character of the examination in the various subjects is sent herewith.

Mathematics and Science.

		Marks.
24.	Lower Pure Mathematics	200
25.	Higher Pure Mathematics	200
26.	Lower Applied Mathematics	200
27.	Higher Applied Mathematics	200
28.	Astronomy	200
29.	Statistics	100
30.	Lower Chemistry	200
31.	Higher Chemistry	200
32.	Lower Physics	200
33.	Higher Physics	200
34.	Lower Botany	200
35.	Higher Botany	200
36.	Lower Geology	200
37.	Higher Geology	200
38.	Lower Physiology	200
39.	Higher Physiology	200
40.	Lower Zoology	200
41.	Higher Zoology	200
42.	Engineering	400
43.	Geography	400
44.	Physical Anthropology	100
45.	Social Anthropology	100
46.	Agriculture	200
47.	Experimental Psychology	100

Languages with Associated Civilizations.

48.	English literature, Period 1	200
49.	English literature, Period 2	200
50.	Latin Language	200
51.	Roman Civilization	200
52.	Greek Language	200
53.	Greek Civilization	200
54.	French Language	200
55.	French Civilization	200
56.	German Language	200
57.	German Civilization	200

	Marks.
58. Spanish or Italian Language	200
59. Spanish or Italian Civilization	200
60. Russian Language	200
61. Russian Civilization	200
62. Arabic Language	200
63. Arabic Civilization	200
64. Persian Language	200
65. Persian Civilization	200
66. Sanskrit Language	200
67. Sanskrit Civilization	200

SECTION C.—An Extra Numerum subject may be offered carrying 100 marks and chosen from the following .—

Physical Anthropology.
Social Anthropology.
An auxiliary language.

10. The auxiliary language in Section A or Section C will be tested by means of translation from the language. The following languages may be offered: French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Russian, Latin, Ancient Greek.

No Candidate may offer any language or Physical Anthropology or Social Anthropology twice in the examination.

No Candidate may offer in Sections A and C together two languages of the group Italian, Spanish, Portuguese or two of the group Norwegian, Swedish, Danish.

Only a Candidate who takes two modern languages in Section B may offer Latin or Ancient Greek as an auxiliary language.

Instead of an auxiliary language a candidate whose mother tongue is an Indian language may offer as Subject 5 either Physical Anthropology or Social Anthropology.

11. In subjects 50 to 57 the civilization subject associated with a language can only be taken by candidates who offer the language itself for examination.[1]

12. A Candidate desiring to offer any of the subjects 30 to 42 or subject 47 must produce evidence satisfactory to the Commissioners of

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[1] *E.g.*, a candidate desiring to offer subject No. 51 (Roman Civilization), must also offer subject No. 50 (Latin Language).

laboratory training in an institution of university rank. For Astronomy (28), Geography (43), Physical Anthropology (44), and Agriculture (46), other equivalent training will be required. There will be no laboratory test as part of the examination.

13. From the marks assigned to Candidates in each subject such deduction will be made as the Civil Service Commissioners may deem necessary in order to secure that no credit be allowed for merely superficial knowledge.

14. Moreover, if a Candidate's handwriting is not easily legible a further deduction will, on that account, be made from the total marks otherwise accruing to him.[1]

15. A list of the competitors shall be made out in order of their proficiency as disclosed by the aggregate marks finally awarded to each competitor, and in that order so many competitors, up to the determined number of appointments, as are found by the Civil Service Commissioners to be qualified by examination, shall be designated to be Selected Candidates for the Indian Civil Service, provided that they appear to be duly qualified in other respects.

Should any Selected Candidate become disqualified, the Secretary of State for India will determine whether the vacancy thus created shall be filled or not. In the former case the Candidate next in order of merit, and in other respects duly qualified, shall be deemed to be Selected Candidate.

16. Application for permission to attend an examination must be made in the handwriting of the Candidate, at such time and in such manner as they be fixed by the Civil Service Commissioners.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE GROUP OF COMPETITIONS.

SYLLABUS

for the Open Competitive Examination of August, 1926, for appointments in the Indian Civil Service, and for any other competition that may be held in combination therewith. The other competitions to which the same syllabus applies and which may, if required, be held simultaneously are:—

Junior Grade of the Administrative Class in the Home Civil Service.
Colonial Service: Eastern Cadetships.
Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service.

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[1] It is notified for general information that the number of marks deducted for bad handwriting may be considerable.

Consular Services (General, Levant, and Far East) and Intelligence Officer Grade in the Department of Overseas Trade.

Evidence of Training.—Candidates who desire to offer any of the subjects 28, 30-44, 46, or 47 must send to the Secretary of the Civil Service Commission, so as to arrive not later than 15th May, 1926, the evidence of training described below. Such evidence should be in the form of a certificate signed by a responsible officer of the institution, and may be sent in advance of the Form of Application. In the case of an institution not situated in the British Isles, the certificate must state that the institution in which the work has been done is authorized to prepare candidates in that subject for a degree. A candidate who has been refused permission to take one of these subjects will be allowed to substitute another subjects within the regulations provided the substitution is made within the time allowed for sending in application forms.

SECTION A.

1. *Essay.*—An essay to be written on one of several specified subjects.

2. *English.*—A paper of questions to test the understanding of English and the workmanlike use of words. An optional exercise in the writing of verse will be included.

3. *Present Day.*—Questions on contemporary subjects, social, economic, and political. A liberal choice of questions will be given. Effective and skilful exposition will be expected.

4. *Everyday Science.*—In this subject such knowledge will be expected as candidates will have who have studied science intelligently at school and have since then kept their eyes open. A liberal choice of questions will be given. Attention should be paid to orderly, effective, and exact expression.

5. *Auxiliary Language.*—Passages dealing with history and politics may be set, but no technical matter. Verse is not excluded. Accuracy and skill in the use of English will be expected.

6. *Viva Voce.*—The examination will be in matters of general interest, not in matters of academic interest; it is intended to test the candidate's alertness, intelligence, and intellectual outlook.

SECTION B.

History. Subject 7-10.—Candidates should know something of the original authorities, of the principles of historical criticism, and of the principles and the facts of geography in relation to history. They must be prepared to draw sketch maps.

7, 8. *English History to 1660, British History, 1660-1914.*—The history will be taken as a whole; politics, economics, and constitution will be considered as mutually effecting each other, and all together as the outcome of the common life of the nation. Literature will not be excluded. Candidates will be expected to know so much of European history as will make the external action of this country fully intelligible and will explain those movements at home which had their beginnings abroad, *e.g.*, the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the reactions in this country of the French Revolution. In subject 8 the outstanding incidents and movements in the history of British possessions will be included.

9, 10. *European History.—Period* 1, from 400 to 1494; *Period* 2, from 1494 to 1763; *Period* 3, from 1763 to 1914.

Although a fixed date is given for the beginning of a period, candidates will be expected to know in general outline how the initial position was reached. The history of the American continent, of India and of the Far East, will be included in so far as it influences European fortunes in an important degree.

11. *General Economics.*—The subject will be treated as a whole, and candidates should be prepared to illustrate the theory by the facts and to analyse the facts by the help of the theory. The history of economic thought will be included.

12. *Economic History.*—Candidates will be expected to have a general acquaintance with the early economic history of England; but special attention will be paid to the economic development of the British Isles and other portions of the Empire during the last two or three centuries, and so much knowledge of European and American conditions will be expected as is necessary for the understanding of British economic history.

13. *Public Economics.*—The questions will deal with the main forms of state action, central and local, in the economic sphere, together with public finance.

14. *Political Theory.*—Candidates will be expected to show a knowledge of political theory and its history, political theory being

understood to mean not only the theory of legislation, but also the general history of the State and its connection with kindred studies such as Ethics, Psychology, Jurisprudence, Public International Law, and Economics. Candidates will be expected to show a knowledge of original authorities.

15. *Political Organization.*—This will include Constitutional Forms (Representative Government, Federalism, etc.) and Public Administration central and local. The history of institutions is not included, but candidates will be expected to know the earlier stages from which existing institutions have directly developed.

16. *Constitutional Law.*—The Constitutional Law of the United Kingdom and of the British Empire, and the Law of English Local Government.

17. *Private Law.*—The following branches of English Private Law: the Law of Real and Personal Property (including the Law of Succession), Contracts, and Torts.

18. *Roman Law.*—Passages will be set for translation and comment but credit will not be given merely for capacity to translate the texts.

19. *International Law.*—Public International Law and International Relations. Candidates will be expected to show a knowledge of the principal treaties which have affected international relations from 1815 inclusive to the present day.

20. *Moral Philosophy.*—The history of the subject will be included. Candidates will have an opportunity of showing their strength either in Ancient Philosophy or in Modern Philosophy.

21. *Metaphysics.*—As for Moral Philosophy.

22. *Logic.*—The subject will be interpreted in a wide sense. Epistemology in its bearing on logical problems will be included, together with Formal Logic and Scientific method. Question may be set on Mathematical Logic, *i.e.*, on the Logic of Mathematics, Symbolic Logic, and the Logic of Probability; and also on the history of Logic. A considerable choice of questions will be allowed.

23. *Psychology.*—Questions on the history of the subject may be included.

Mathematics. Subjects 24-27.—The use of the slide-rule and of mathematical tables will be allowed.

24. *Lower Pure Mathematics.*—Geometry of two and of three dimensions according to Euclid (synthetic geometry), to Descartes (analytical geometry), and to Monge (descriptive geometry, dealing with three-dimensional figures by the use of plan and elevation). The method of

vectors including scalar and vector products, with applications. Only the main properties of conics and quadrics, including those of poles, polars and polar planes, are expected.

Algebra: Complex numbers; uniformly converging infinite series; the elements of the theory of equations, including the numerical solution of algebraic equations, but not including the formal solution of the cubic and quartic.

Infinitesimal calculus of real variables to partial differentiation and multiple integrals, with applications to geometry. Candidates should be able to deal with the types of differential equations occurring in elementary mechanics.

The proof of Paylor's series will not be required.

No great skill will be expected in solving complicated problems of an elementary nature. The questions will involve the use of mathematical instruments.

25. *Higher Pure Mathematics.*—Lower Pure Mathematics together with :—

The geometry of curves and surfaces. Sensor calculus.

Elementary analysis, including simple functions of a complex variable and contour integration.

Differential equations in one independent variable. Elementary treatment of partial differential equations, with special reference to the differential equations of mathematical physics. Existence theorems are excluded.

Mathematical theory of probability, including theory of errors, method of least squares, curve fitting and correlation.

Calculus of finite differences, including numerical integration and summation and linear difference equations.

A considerable choice of questions will be allowed, so that full marks may be obtained by covering about half the range stated.

26. *Lower Applied Mathematics.*—Statics, hydrostatics, dynamics, elementary theory of electricity and magnetism, including the induction of currents. Questions will be of an elementary character, but will not be confined to two dimensions; they will involve the use of the calculus. Candidates are free to use differential equations, but a knowledge thereof will not be necessary to answer the questions. Attention will be paid to problems which arise naturally and to general principles; artificial problems will be avoided. The questions will involve the use of mathematical instruments.

27. *Higher Applied Mathematics.*—Lower Applied Mathematics together with :

Statics to a more advanced stage including graphical treatment.

Dynamics to the equations of Euler and Lagrange and including the theory of the vibration of strings and other simple systems.

Hydrodynamics, including the elementary theory of the motion of solids through a liquid, surface waves, and vibrations in gases.

Elasticity, including the elements of the vibrations of rods, plates and bars.

Electricity and magnetism.

Thermodynamics, kinetic theory of gases, radiation.

A considerable choice of questions will be allowed, so that full marks may be obtained by covering about half the range stated.

28. *Astronomy.*—Geometrical optics will be included.

A candidate who desires to offer this subject must produce evidence satisfactory to the Civil Service Commissioners of practical training in an observatory.

29. *Statistics.*—Frequency distributions, averages, percentiles, and simple methods of measuring dispersion ; graphic methods ; elementary treatment of qualitative data, *e.g.*, investigation of association by comparison of ratios, consistency of data : the practice of the simplest graphic and algebraic methods of interpolation.

Practical methods used in the analysis and interpretation of statistics of prices, wages and incomes, trade, transport, production and consumption, education, etc.; the more elementary methods of dealing with population and vital statistics ; miscellaneous methods used in handling statistics of experiments or observations.

Elements of modern mathematical theory of statistics :—frequency curves and the mathematical representation of groups generally ; accuracy of sampling as affecting averages, percentages, the standard deviation ; significance of observed differences between averages of groups, etc. ; the theory of correlation for two variables.

Natural Science. Subjects 30-41.—The standard of the higher division of a science will be that which is required in the main subject for an honours degree at the universities. The standard for the lower division of a science will be that required in a subject subsidiary to the main subject whether required at the final degree examination or at a preceding examination.

A candidate who desires to offer a science must produce evidence satisfactory to the Civil Service Commissioners of laboratory training in that science in an institution of university rank; the length of such training must be at least two academic years for the higher division of a science and at least one academic year for the lower division, except that a candidate may offer Higher Physics without Lower Physics on one year's training.

34. *Lower Botany.* } Vegetable Physiology will be included in each
35. *Higher Botany.* } division.

36. *Lower Geology.* } Mineralogy will be included in each division.
37. *Higher Geology.* }

42. *Engineering.*—Strength of materials; theory of structures; mechanism and dynamics of machines; heat and thermodynamics; surveying; hydraulics, including hydraulic machines; electricity and magnetism.

The subject will be treated in a general manner and the questions will be confined to the more elementary parts of the subject. The candidate will be expected to be familiar with graphical methods and to have some skill in mechanical drawing.

A candidate who desires to offer Engineering must produce evidence satisfactory to the Civil Service Commissioners of training for at least one academic year in an institution of university rank.

43. *Geography.*—Geography as understood in the universities, not excluding topics which concern geography jointly with other subjects such as economics, history, physics, botany, and geology. There will be a practical test which will necessitate a knowledge of cartographical methods and notations, and for this test drawing instruments may be required.

A candidate who desires to offer this subject must produce evidence satisfactory to the Civil Service Commissioners of training for at least one academic year in an institution of university rank.

Physical Anthropology.—Physical Anthropology, Pre-historic Archæology and Technology. Candidates will be expected to have such knowledge as may be acquired by laboratory and museum work, consisting mainly in the handling and study of specimens and exhibits. The subject will be treated with special, but not exclusive, reference to peoples of rude culture, including pre-historic civilization.

A candidate who desire to offer this subject must produce evidence satisfactory to the Civil Service Commissioners of training in an institution of university rank.

45. *Social Anthropology.*—Candidates will not be expected to have an extensive experience of laboratory and museum work. The subject will be treated with special, but not exclusive, reference to peoples of rude culture, including pre-historic civilization.

46. *Agriculture.*—Agricultural chemistry, agricultural botany, and agricultural zoology will be included.

A candidate who desires to offer this subject must produce evidence satisfactory to the Civil Service Commissioners of training in an approved institution.

47. *Experimental Psychology.*—A candidate who desires to offer this subject must produce evidence satisfactory to the Civil Service Commissioners of laboratory training in an institution of University rank.

48, 49. *English Literature.—Period* 1, from 1350 to 1700; *Period* 2, from 1660 to 1914.

Candidates should be prepared to show a first-hand knowledge of some of the works of the following authors and of their place in the history of their country :—

PERIOD 1

Chaucer.
Malory.
Spenser.
Shakespeare.
Bacon.
Milton.
Bunyan.

PERIOD 2.

Dryden.
Congreve.
Defoe.
Swift.
Addison.
Pope.
Fielding.
Johnson.
Burke.
Goldsmith.
Burns.
Scott.
Jane Austen.
Wordsworth.
Coleridge.
Shelley.
Keats.
Dickens.
Carlyle.
Tennyson.
Browning.

Questions on other writers will not be excluded, but on the whole, the questions will be directed to the best-known authors and their best-known works. Candidates should know so much of the history as is necessary to understand the literature in its relation to other activities of the nation.

Questions will not be set on the history of the language before Chaucer, nor, in general, on its morphological or phonological changes since his time, the history of workmanship, style, and prosody will not be excluded.

Civilizations and Languages. Subjects 50-67.—In these the civilization subject associated with a language can be taken only by candidates who also offer themselves for examination in the language itself.

In the questions on civilization, history and literature will, as far as possible, be brought into close relation. In history, candidates will be expected to show a knowledge of the original authorities. They must also be prepared to answer questions on historical geography, and to draw sketch maps. The questions on literature will require first-hand knowledge of the authors; and the authors dealt with will be those which candidates ought to have read. Passages of literature may be set for comment on matters of social, political, legal, or other historical importance. Questions on philology and the older forms of the languages may be set, but will not be compulsory. In the question papers on civilization, candidates will not be required to write their answers in the foreign language.

In the conversation test importance is attached to pronunciation. The study of phonetics is an important aid to correctness of pronunciation, and candidates who take modern languages will be expected to have studied phonetics in connection with the language or languages taken.

50. *Latin Language.*—Translation, and prose or verse composition. The composition paper will be so arranged that candidates may confine themselves to prose composition or to verse composition, or, if they prefer, may take some prose and some verse.

51. *Roman Civilization.*—Roman History and Latin Literature. The outlines of the history and development down to 180 A. D. should be known; but the main stress will be laid on the period 133 B.C. to 117 A.D.

52. *Greek Language.*—As for Latin.

53. *Greek Civilization.*—Greek History and Literature. In history the main stress will be on the period 510 B. C. to 323 B.C.

54. *French Language.*—Translation, free composition, set composition, and conversation.

55. *French Civilization.*—French History and Literature. The outlines of the history and development prior to 1859 should be known; the period from 1589 to 1660 in somewhat more detail; but the main stress will be on the period from 1660 to the present day.

56. *German Language.*—As for French.

57. *German Civilization.*—German History and Literature. Candidates should know in outline the history of the Medieval Empire, of the growth of the German cities, of the Reformation in Germany, and of the Thirty Years' War; but the main stress will be on the period from the accession of Frederick the Great to the present day.

58. *Spanish Italian Language.*—As for French.

59. *Spanish Civilization.*—Spanish History and Literature. In history the main stress will be on the periods from the Union of Castile and Aragon under Ferdinand and Isabella to the liberation of the Netherlands, and again from 1800 to the present day.

Italian Civilization.—Italian History and Literature. In history the main stress will be on the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century, and again on the period from 1789 to the present day. Sufficient should be known of the earlier period to understand the position of the Pope and the Emperor in Italy, the rise of the towns, and the position of Dante in history.

60. *Russian Language.*—As for French.

61. *Russian Civilization.*—Russian History and Literature. Something should be known of the history since the accession of Peter the Great, but the main stress will be on the period from 1800 to the present day. Only the broadest outlines of the history prior to Peter the Great will be required.

62. *Arabic Language.*—Translation, free composition, set composition, conversation. The examination will be in the modern language.

63. *Arabic Civilization.*—Arabic History and Literature. The main stress in both history and literature will be on the period from the middle of the 6th century A.D. to the middle of the 13th century A.D.

64. *Persian Language.*—Translation, free composition, set composition, conversation. The examination will be in the modern language.

65. *Persian Civilization.*—Persian History and Literature. The main stress in both history and literature will be on the period 1000 A.D. to 1500 A.D. Candidates will be expected to have a general knowledge of the history of Persia before 1000 A.D. and from 1500 A.D. to the present time.

The following applies only to candidates for the Indian Civil Service:—

66. *Sanskrit Language.*—Translation, prose composition, and questions on Vedic and Sanskrit grammar. Both Vedic and classical Sanskrit passages will be set for translation; composition will be required in classical Sanskrit alone.

67. *Sanskrit Civilization.*—Sanskrit literature and the history of the civilization and thought of India from the Vedic period to A.D. 1200.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.
August, 1925.

EXAMINATIONS OF SELECTED CANDIDATES FOR THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

Regulations made under section 97 of the Government of India Act for the

PROBATION

in the United Kingdom and the further examination of Selected Candidates for the Indian Civil Service.

*** The following regulations made by the Secretary of State for India in Council are liable to alteration from year to year.

(1) Candidates selected at the Open Competition held in London will be required to remain in the United Kingdom on probation for one or two years, as may be decided by the Secretary of State for India in Council.

(2) Candidates selected at the Open Competition held in India and candidates selected in India otherwise than by competitive examination will be required to proceed to the United Kingdom on probation for a period of two years.

ONE-YEAR PROBATIONERS.

(3) One-year probationers will, at the end of the year of probation, undergo an examination called the Final Examination. The subjects and the marks allotted to them are as follows:—

Compulsory Subjects.

		Marks.			Marks.
1.	Indian Penal Code ...	200	5.	The principal vernacular language or the substituted subject	600
2.	Code of Criminal Procedure	200	6.	Riding	200
3.	The Indian Evidence Act	200			
4.	Indian History ...	400			

Optional Subjects, one only to be taken.

7. Hindu and Mohammedan Law 400

	Marks.
8. A classical language selected from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Pali	400

TWO-YEAR PROBATIONERS.

(4) Two-year probationers will, during their period of probation, undergo two examinations—the Intermediate Examination at the end of the first year and the Final Examination at the end of the second year.

(5) The subjects of the Intermediate Examination and the marks allotted to them are as follows. All the subjects are compulsory :—

	Marks.		Marks.
1. The principal vernacular language or the substituted subject ...	400	4. Law of Evidence and Criminal Law ...	200
2. Phonetics	200	5. Indian History ...	200
3. Jurisprudence ...	200	6. Notes of Cases ...	200
		7. Economics ...	200

(6) The subjects of the Final Examination and the marks allotted to them are as follows :—

Compulsory Subjects.

	Marks.		Marks.
1. The principal vernacular language or the substituted subject ...	600	4. The Indian Evidence Act	200
2. Indian Penal Code ...	200	5. Notes of Cases ...	400
3. Code of Criminal Procedure	200	6. Indian History ...	400
		7. Economics ...	400
		8. Riding	200

Optional Subjects, one only to be taken.

	Marks.
9. Hindu and Mohammedan Law	400
10. A classical language selected from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Pali	400

ONE-YEAR AND TWO-YEAR PROBATIONERS.

(7) The principal vernaculars prescribed for the various provinces are shown in the following table:—

Province.	Vernacular.
Madras	Tamil or Telegu.
Bombay	Marathi.
Bengal	Bengali.
United Provinces	Urdu.
Punjab	Urdu.
Burma	Burmese.
Bihar and Orissa	Hindi.
Central Provinces	Hindi.
Assam	Bengali.

(8) An Indian assigned to Madras whose mother tongue is one of the two principal vernaculars of the province must offer the other for examination. An Indian assigned elsewhere whose mother tongue is the principal vernacular language of his province must substitute in place of the principal vernacular language the following subject or subjects:—

One-year probationers—

British History.

Two-year probationers—

British History at the Intermediate Examination, and European History at the Final Examination.

(9) A candidate whose mother tongue is Hindi or Urdu may not offer either of these languages as the principal vernacular language.

(10) Candidates who at the Final Examination in riding satisfy the Commissioners that they are sufficiently at home in the saddle for the efficient performance of any duties required of members of the Indian Civil Service will be awarded marks ranging between 101 and 200, according to the degree of proficiency displayed.

Candidates who fall short of this adequate proficiency but show such minimum proficiency as is evidence that with a moderate amount of practice they can attain full proficiency, will receive marks ranging between 1 and 100; they will be allowed to proceed to India and will on their arrival there be subjected to such further tests in riding as may be prescribed by their Local Government, and shall receive no increase to their initial salary until they have passed such tests to the satisfaction of that Government.

A Candidate who fails at the end of the period of probation to satisfy the Civil Service Commissioners that he has reached the minimum standard of proficiency in riding will be liable to have his name removed from the list of selected candidates.

Selected candidates will also be examined in riding at such time or times as the Commissioners may appoint during the course of the probationary period.

(11) Such deductions as the Civil Service Commissioners may consider necessary will be made from the marks assigned to candidates at the Intermediate and Final Examinations in order to secure that no credit is allowed for merely superficial knowledge.

(12) The Civil Service Commissioners will prepare lists of the candidates in order of merit; the order for the one-year probationers being based on the sum of the marks obtained by the candidates at the Open Competitive and Final Examinations, the order for the two-year probationers being based on the sum of the marks obtained by the candidates at the Intermediate and Final Examinations.

(13) The selected candidates whose performance in the compulsory subjects of the Final Examination is such as to satisfy the Civil Service Commissioners, and who have also satisfied the Commissioners of their eligibility in respect of nationality, age, health, character, and conduct during the period of probation, shall be certified by the Commissioners to be entitled to be appointed to the Indian Civil Service, provided that they shall comply with the regulations in force, at the time, for that Service.

(14) If any candidate is prevented by sickness or any other adequate cause from attending the Final Examination, the Commissioners may, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State for India in Council, allow him to appear at the Final Examination to be held in the following year, or at a special examination. A selected candidate absent for such adequate cause from the Intermediate Examination may, under similar conditions, be allowed to appear at the Intermediate Examination a year later or at a special examination, or may be excused the Intermediate Examination and allowed to appear for the Final Examination in regular course.

Any candidate who at the Intermediate Examination shall appear to have wilfully neglected his studies, or to be physically incapacitated for pursuing the prescribed course of training, will be liable to have his name removed from the list of selected candidates.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

made by the Civil Service Commissioners with the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council:—

(*i*) Selected candidates will be allotted to the various provinces upon a consideration of all the circumstances, including their own wishes; but the requirements of the Public Service will rank before every other consideration.

(*ii*) An allowance of £300 a year, or, in the case of Selected Candidates possessing an Indian domicile, an allowance of £350[1] a year will be given to any candidate who passes his probation at one of the Universities or other institutions that have been approved for the purpose by the Secretary of State for India in Council.

In the case of Selected Candidates on probation for one year the allowance will be payable in four equal instalments on the following dates respectively: December 24th, after his selection, March 25th, June 25th, and after signature of Covenant on appointment to the Service.

In the case of Selected Candidates on probation for two years the allowance will be payable in eight equal instalments, the first on the December 24th, after selection, the second to the seventh on the six following quarter days and the eight after signature of Covenant on appointment to the Service.

The payment of the various instalments of the allowance except the final instalment, and, in the case of the two-year probationers, the instalment payable at the end of the first year of probation, will be conditional on the receipt by the Secretary of State through the Civil Service Commissioners of a certificate that the candidate has fulfilled up to date the requirements of the authorities and shown satisfactory conduct at the approved Institution.

If an Indian Government Scholar becomes a selected candidate for the Indian Civil Service, his scholarship stipend shall cease to be paid with effect from the 1st October of the year in which he becomes a selected candidate. He may, however, provided he has executed the agreement referred to in (*iv*) below, be granted on, or at any time after, the 1st October, an advance on account of the instalment of the allowance payable on the 24th December.

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[1] The attention of candidates selected at Examinations held in London is, however, directed to paragraph (viii).

The whole probation must ordinarily be passed at the same Institution. Migration will not be permitted except for special reasons approved by the Secretary of State.

N.B.—The Secretary of State for India gives notice that the amount of the allowances will be reconsidered in 1926, with a view to a possible reduction with effect from the instalment payable in December, 1926.

(*iii*) A First Class passage to India will be engaged for Selected Candidates with a view to their proceeding to India during the November following their Final Examination.

(*iv*) Each candidate will be required before receiving the first instalment of his allowance to execute an agreement binding himself and one surety jointly and severally to refund all moneys he may have received from the Secretary of State for India in the event of:—

(1) his failure to pass the Final Examination within the time prescribed by the Regulations, and to satisfy the Civil Service Commissioners of his fitness for admission to the Indian Civil Service, or

(2) his subsequent failure to execute the usual covenant, and to proceed to India, as and when he shall be directed by the Secretary of State for India.

(*v*) All candidates obtaining certificates will be also required to enter into covenants, by which, amongst other things, they will bind themselves to make such payments as under the rules and regulations for the time being in force they may be required to make for the pensions of their families. The stamps payable on these covenants amount to £1.

(*vi*) The seniority in the Indian Civil Service will be determined by the results of the examinations taken during the course of probation.

(*vii*) Candidates who fail to satisfy the Civil Service Commissioners at the Final Examination held in any year will be definitely rejected, and will not be allowed to present themselves for re-examination, unless it shall appear to the Secretary of State in Council, after reference to the Civil Service Commissioners, that such failure is due to circumstances wholly exceptional and beyond the control of the candidate.

(*viii*) "Overseas pay" will not be admissible to Indian members of the Indian Civil Service selected at Open Competitive Examinations held in London in 1925 and subsequent years'.

HARMONY AND RHYTHM IN LANGUAGE

'He who has no music in his nature cannot be a great poet'

We speak of the music of language as when we say that the Italian language is musical; and of the music of verse as when we say that the poetry of Shelley is full of music, or that Milton is the 'organ voice of England.' A great critic says, 'no one can be a poet who has not music in his soul.'

What is proposed here is to consider the question, in what the 'music' of language consists, and how it is produced. The first thing to be observed, however, is that the word 'music' in this connection, though universally used, is somewhat misleading. Music appeals to the ear. But what is pleasurable in language is experienced only in a secondary and minor degree by the ear. Language is indeed conveyed from mind to mind through the medium of the ear and the sense of sound; but words have to be produced before they can be transmitted, and it is mainly in the process of producing the words that the pleasure and displeasure given by language as such, has its origin. Now the production of language is a muscular process which has nothing directly to do with the ear; and the feeling which we call the music of language is mainly muscular, and only in a small degree, aural. It has more in common, therefore, with the pleasure of physical exercises—walking, dancing, riding, and activity in general of the muscular system—than with the pleasure of music proper; and it has been found that many poets who have had the greatest command of verbal harmony and greatest delight in the 'music' of words, have had little or no appreciation of music in the strict sense. We *hear* words which we do not ourselves produce; but it is mainly in producing words ourselves (even though we should do so silently) that the pleasure of language is experienced.

I

The use of language.—Language is the means of transmitting thought and feeling from mind to mind. But it is "a far cry" from one mind to another mind; and a long series of processes have to be performed, in complexity and subtlety almost beyond power of conception. Thought begins in one person by giving rise to cerebral transformations and nerve currents. These set up contractions and movements of a complicate system of muscular organs in chest, throat and mouth. These muscular contractions pass over into finely modulated waves of atmosphere. These waves flow up the vestibule of the ear and beat on the ear-drum (an elastic membrane closing a hole in the bone). The vibrations of the drum thus produced communicate themselves to a chain of little bones behind it (the hammer bone, the anvil bone and the stirrup bone). The last of these transfers its vibrations to another tight membrane in the bone, and thereby to a liquid contained in the cockle-shell (cochlea) of the ear, and sends waves of liquid pulsing along the winding channels of the shell. These again set certain fibres vibrating (fibres of Corti), and these vibrations affect, in some mysterious way, certain nerve cells, which send currents of influence along the auditory nerve to a certain region of the brain, and there give rise to a mysterious process in the brain-cells, which is followed or accompanied by the sensation of sound; and the sensation rises into thought; and the thought thus produced in the mind of the hearer reproduces or corresponds (approximately) to, the thought of the speaker who began this chain of transformations. This process, therefore, is language.

Which of these intermediate links enters into consciousness? Of this long series of transformations, two sets enter into clear consciousness (apart from the original thought which gave rise to the whole); *viz.* (1) the muscular processes of chest, throat and mouth which give muscle-feelings of exreme subtlety and complexity, and (2) the sensation of sound which is the first mental effect of the long physical series. Which of these factors, then, contributes most to that pleasurable consciousness which rises from the use of words, and which is often called the 'music' of language? Experience shows that it comes mainly from the working of the muscles which articulate and produce the words. It is experienced mainly by the reader or speaker of the words, and only in a minor degree by the hearer. Indeed it is clear (from the above sketch) that the feelings rising out of the muscular work involved, will reach the mind of the speaker by a much shorter way than the sound does, (after the long series of transformations). For the will and effort to move the muscles, is in the mind itself from the beginning, and not transmitted to it from the outside as the sound is. In fact, the pleasure which the hearer experiences springs more from the tone and timbre peculiar to the speaker's voice, which has little directly to do with the words themselves. It is better, therefore, to use some less misleading word. The word 'harmony' serves the purpose best. It comes from Greek words meaning to join different things together in a fitting way.

Hence 'harmony' has come to stand for the effect produced on the mind when a variety of things are co-ordinated together in such a way as to form one consistent whole—a one of many parts. Similarly, the pleasure of language is experienced when a series of muscular efforts of articulation are fitted to each other in such orders and proportions that the articulating energy runs on through the whole series as if they were so many parts of one whole. In short, the pleasure lies in the muscular activity of articulation,—in the rhythm, or unresisted flow of articulating energy from word to word and clause to clause.

How words are produced.—We have to consider further, therefore, how language is produced, and how the process of producing it gives rise to these agreeable effects which we call the harmony and rhythm of language.

Words and sentences are fundamentally muscular processes produced by and corresponding to processes of thought. Their use is to embody and transmit from mind to mind, what is thought and felt. In thinking, the various logical factors of thought, as they rise in the mind, join themselves together into a whole of thought, which we call a judgment. These factors which enter into the whole of thought, correspond, we believe, to factors in the constitution of real things and events, and we distinguish them and fix in the mind by applying words to them (classifying the words as substantives, verbs, adjectives, etc.); and we correlate them together into a system of words (corresponding to the system of thought) and call it a proposition. We have nothing here to do with the logic of thought nor with the grammar of the proposition, but with the question, how the words are produced, and what feelings the work of producing them gives rise to. This question in its innermost details, to be sure, belongs to physiology, and the special science of phonetics. But some consideration of the subject is needed before we can see how the harmony of language is produced, which is a question of literature.

In the first place, how are the words themselves produced? Every word is itself a complex of muscular efforts. To be distinct, it must be composed either of a single vowel and a single consonant, forming one monosyllable, or of several syllables articulated (jointed) together. Now the production of these articulations requires an exceedingly complex and highly sensitive system of muscles in chest, throat and mouth, regulating the passage of the breath, and thereby the vibrations which the breath transmits to the atmosphere for the production of sound. Thus the muscles of the passages may contract so as to modify the passing flow of breath in various ways without stopping it altogether, and the air-waves thus produced occasion, through the ear, the various vowel sounds with all their innumerable tones and timbres—including the pure vowel sounds *ah*, *ay*, *ee*, *oh* and *oo* and their almost innumerable intermediates and diphthongal combinations. Or the muscles of the throat, tongue and lips may close sharply and stop the passage altogether for a moment, and, the sudden interruption, or sudden re-opening, will abruptly stop, or start again the current of air and thereby produce the consonants (hard and mute). And this closure of the passage has to take place at different points, and with different degrees of force (*e.g.* the lips giving *p*, *b*, *f*, the tongue and teeth giving *t*, *d*, *th*, the throat giving *k*, *g*, *ch*). Or the closure may be less complete, and the nearly suppressed current will produce the liquid, sibilant and aspirate sounds, such as *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *h*, *ch*, etc.

Now the muscles concerned in this work of articulation are richly supplied with nerves, and are indeed the most sensitive in the body to slight degrees and forms of effort. Thus the mental power, in order to represent the many modulations and articulations of its feeling and thought, has to make its muscular system produce, in opening and closing the channel of breath in many ways, an almost inexhaustible variety of muscular efforts; and to 'joint' these together into syllables, and these into words, and words into clauses and sentences, expressing all the complexities of its thought. Now mind is distinctly conscious of the work it performs in adapting its muscular apparatus to the expression of its thoughts and feelings, and, evidently, it will be in this work of evolving, controlling and adapting its machinery of articulation to express and convey its thought, (*i.e.*, in producing and applying words,) that mind will experience what is agreeable or disagreeable in language—its harmony or discord.

But these muscular efforts, through a chain of intermediate effects above, produce sounds; and the sounds thus produced are sufficiently complex to suggest to the hearer the muscular efforts which produced them, so that the hearer of the sounds is able to reproduce in his own mind the same muscular articulations (*i.e.*, the language used), and thereby the feeling and thought of the speaker. It follows then that, complex as language is, the muscular elements form its fundamental constituent.

Language a means of thinking, as well as of conveying thought.—And this art of embodying thought in muscular work which is easily remembered and repeated, goes far to make thought itself possible, so that there is reason to believe that the growth of intelligence is largely synchronous with, if not dependent on, that of language. There are many other ways of producing signs and sounds, but no others possess the variety of those produced by the act of muscular articulation peculiar to man. Most animals have the power of producing sounds sufficient to express such elementary feelings as pain and pleasure, fear and hope, but incapable of such differentiation and articulation as are needed to express thought. Hence a very ancient poet was fond of contrasting human beings with animals by calling them "articulate-speaking men."

Now this work of muscular articulation, being accomplished by contrivance and effort of the thinking mind to embody its thought, is necessarily felt by it as agreeable or disagreeable in various ways; and the agreeable feelings rising out of this work constitute the harmony of language.

How the feelings of harmony and discord are produced.—What is it, then, that makes the work of articulation to be agreeable or otherwise—harmonious or discordant? Exercise of the muscles is in itself agreeable, and an essential part of the enjoyment of life. But it consists in the overcoming of resistance, and therefore involves expenditure of energy. It is so with the activities of articulation. The movements required may be such that the activity flows on without obstruction, from one articulation to another, and the thought is thereby expressed with the least expenditure of energy. But in most cases the muscles concerned, in order to produce, the effects required (the articulate sounds), have to resist and press against each other more or less, as in the production of consonantal sounds especially; and articulations have to be combined into syllables, and syllables into words and series, involving more or less resistance and friction on the part of the muscles. Even vowels may involve some mutual obstruction of muscles, as when they have to be combined in complex diphthongal compounds; or when two come in close succession making hiatus (rather common in Italian, where nearly every word ends in a vowel and many begin with one).

But the main difficulty arises when the expression of thought requires the articulation of two or more consonants in one syllable, (*i.e.*, without any helping vowel between them). The sudden transition from the one to the other, means that the organs, after being adapted to the articulation of one consonant, have to adapt themselves instantly to the articulation of another, and then another. Thus a labial strains the muscles of the lips, a dental, those of tongue and jaw, a guttural, those of the throat; and sudden transference of effort from one set to another involves more or less difficulty. The complication is greater when one word ends and another begins with several consonants, (as in the name 'Park Street,' giving the cluster of 5 consonants, *r*, *k*, *s*, *t*, *r*, in one mouthful so to speak). This adaptation of the organs, involving the pressure of one against another to make each consonant clear, requires effort, and the greater the number of consonants that come together, the greater the effort.

Quantity.—This is what the ancient metrists meant by the *quantity* of a syllable—the amount of effort (and therefore of time) needed to articulate clearly, and combine, the consonants forming a syllable. Some combinations will be easier than others—*e.g.* those composed partly of liquids, aspirates or sibilants will be easier than those composed of mutes, which require the channel to be firmly closed,—while the sudden change from one to another will cause some struggle and strain of muscles involved. Such a syllable therefore will need more time and effort than others; and when a greater *quantity* of time and effort is allotted to one syllable than to others, it may be called a *stressed* or *long* syllable, as opposed to a short and unstressed one.

Discord.—Thus harshness of language, want of harmony, is mainly due to the frequence of difficult consonantal combinations causing strain and friction of the articulating muscles. The natural way of overcoming such harshness is to make allowance for the real *quantity* of such syllables, *viz.*, by allowing more time and energy to their articulation. This however makes the syllable to be a stressed (or 'accented') one. But the established usages of pronunciation may (as in most modern languages) largely ignore quantity, lay the stress on syllables which do not naturally stand in need of it, and require the complex syllables to be hurried (slurred) over. The speaker is required to articulate a whole mouthful of consonants all together, without any additional time and stress. This causes a disagreeable straining of the muscles employed; and when such complex syllables occur frequently without the relief of time and stress, the effect is inharmonious and laborious.

Accent.—The words *accented* and *unaccented* are now often used for stressed and unstressed. But these words are misleading, as their proper meaning is something quite different from stress. The word *accantus* means the *added cantus*, *i.e.*, chaunt or sing-song—the management of the voice, the various modulations of tone, which are very prominent and important in some languages and dialects, but have nothing to do with stress or quantity (*e.g.*, a London, a Glasgow accent).

How discord is to be avoided: conditions of harmony.—If we consider then how harshness is to be avoided, we can now see that it will be partly (*a*) by such a distribution of stress that stress will fall on those syllables which naturally need it, *i.e.*, such as cannot be pronounced easily without it.

Hence the ancient classical languages of Europe sought harmony mainly by strict adherence to the principle of quantity. They recognised fully the difference between syllables ending in groups of consonants requiring time and labour for clear articulation, and open syllables, and syllables containing only a single consonant (or two easy consonants, such as a mute and a liquid). The difficulty of consonantal syllables was avoided by allowing to such syllables, such time and effort as was naturally needed for their articulation—thereby avoiding so far as possible all struggle and strain of muscles concerned, and allowing the articulating energy to flow on rhythmically from one syllable to another. And the most elaborate system of verbal harmony ever devised, was founded mainly on this principle, which is largely overlooked in modern poetry.

(*b*) Another way of avoiding harshness will be by proportionate distribution of vowels. Vowels may be inserted between consonants, where needed, to make the transition easier from one consonant to another. Thus, for example, the harshness of the name 'Park Street'—*r*, *k*, *s*, *t*, *r*—is softened by pronouncing it Park-is-treet. This kind of adaptation is common in Italian and Spanish, in adopting foreign words. Thus it can be seen, however, it is only an application of the above principle of quantity.

Thus harmony will depend considerably on a proportionate distribution of vowel sounds—both of short vowels which make the articulation of the consonants easy; and also of long vowels (or vowels as independent syllables by themselves) which give rest to the muscles and greater prominence to the consonants which follow. It is the scarcity of full vowels and the consequent rapid succession of sharp consonantal syllables, that constitutes *patter*. The French language, has been charged with wanting 'accent'—more precisely, wanting a sufficiently prominent difference between long and short syllables, and consequent tendency to patter. It was probably from a feeling of this, that M. Arnold depreciated French poetry so much. A great French writer has depreciated his own northern *langue d'oil* in contrast with the dialects of the south—"*accentuées et sonores*." But the great poets have known how to overcome this defect, and to produce metrical effects second to none. Arnold does not seem to have thought of the soaring lines and " *lignes ondoyeuses* " of Hugo and Leconte de Lisle. Swinburne, a far greater master of verbal harmony than Arnold, appreciates them more justly.

(*c*) Quantity in language is felt also in the form of *duration* —a form in which it is fully recognised in modern literature. The articulating activity cannot go on without rests or pauses, and the distances between its rests modify the effect of the whole. The principal pauses are determined by the principal phases of the thought, and are indicated by punctuation (and in verse, by lines and stanzas). But the flow of thought and consequently that of articulation, has phases of a finer kind than those usually indicated by punctuation, and these finer modulations of thought with their pauses in articulation play an important part in the most highly elaborated kinds of harmony, as for example, in the blank verse of Milton and his imitators.

Summary of results: in what does harmony consist?— Therefore the conditions of harmony thus far considered, may be recapitulated under the following heads:

(*a*) *Distribution of stress.*—Conformity with the principle of quantity. Syllables differ in respect of the amount of time and energy needed for their clear articulation, *i.e.*, in quantity. Some series of syllables allow the activity of the organs to flow on agreeably without obstruction. Others present combinations which make clear enunciation to be laborious. Harmony requires that, in such cases, more time and energy be allowed, to differentiate the elements (vowels or consonants) from each other, and make each of them distinct in its own place. In other words, harmony requires that such syllables be pronounced as long or stressed. When such relief is not allowed, the reader is required to pronounce a mouthful of letters all at once. Then the syllable is felt to be 'harsh,' and a series of them make the composition to be inharmonious. The difficulty is felt mainly in consonantal combinations, but in some dialects there are also combinations of vowels which are disagreeable to many (*e. g.*, the mewing sound—*ay-ah-oo*—which has become common in some dialects, or the nasal drawl which now often takes the place of the letter *r*, as when *here* is pronounced *he-ah-ah*).

(*b*) *Distribution of vowels.*—Harmony depends also on the distribution of vowels—short vowels being necessary to the clear enunciation of the consonants, and long vowels giving the relief of variety, and also volume and sonority. An alternation of long and short, stressed and unstressed, made possible by vowel distribution, is essential to rhythm. The German language has many hard combinations of consonants, but the difficulty is much relieved by the alternation of vowel sounds giving a rhythmical succession of long and short, stressed and unstressed, such as seems wanting in French. This perhaps is what gives German such a command of metrical combinations,—which, along with the picturesqueness of its words, makes German the language into which the poetry of other languages can be translated with least loss—German translations being certainly the best of all.

(*c*) *Distribution of rests.*—The work of articulation needs to be relieved at intervals by rests or pauses, and the proportions between these rests (in respect of time) enter into the feeling given by the whole, and contribute to its harmony. The principal pauses are determined by the phases of the thought, and are clearly enough marked by punctuation. But the stream of thought has phases of a subtler kind than those indicated by punctuation, and is of much importance in versification.

(*d*) *Tone and timbre of the sounds produced—musical element proper.*—The above feelings, it can be seen, are of muscular origin wholly, and yet constitute the greater part of the harmony of language in the purely *linguistic* sense of the word.

But combined with this, there is also a purely aural element, or element of music in the literal sense. The contractions of the muscular organs produce atmospheric vibrations, and these affect the ear and produce sounds, and the sounds are agreeable or disagreeable as such. Nevertheless the strictly musical quality of the sounds depends not so much on the verbal articulations—language proper—as on peculiarities of the speaker's voice and the hearer's ear, and these have nothing directly to do with words spoken. The melody of a song depends but little on the words sung; "God save the King" is much the same musically, in whatever language it is sung. The tone and timbre of the speaker's voice are like those of the singer or musical instrument—an accompaniment, not a part of the language itself. Yet there is a connection between music and language. A singer prefers a song in which the words are themselves linguistically harmonious, to one full of discords. Hence the preference which singers show for the Italian language. Its freedom from difficult consonantal combinations, its long open vowels, and rhythmical alternation of long and short, makes the syllables follow one another "trippingly," and leaves the singer free to think more of the music and less of the labour of articulation.

(*e*) *Clear expression of thought and feeling.*—Further, the use of language is to express thought, and there cannot fail to be a feeling of dissatisfaction when the thought is not adequately and naturally expressed. In other words there will be a harmony between the language and the thought, and this kind of harmony will combine with the other forms into one whole. This intellectual shade of harmony will be felt most in connection with poetry. In the most perfect kinds of composition, the thought and the words are so blended together that not a word or even a syllable can be changed, without disturbing the effect of the whole fabric. Hence the "verity of translation" (Shelley) in the case of poetry.

Hence we may conclude that the harmony of language includes muscular, musical and intellectual forms of feeling, But the most fundamental and important is certainly the muscular.

Importance of quantity as condition of harmony in classical metres.—The importance of quantity as a factor of harmony is best illustrated by reference to the metrical system of the ancient Greeks which was founded wholly on quantity, and which has had great influence on modern thought on the subject. It was based wholly on that kind of harmony which results when time and stress fall on those syllables which naturally need them, *i.e.*, on vowels naturally long, and on combinations of two or more consonants which require more time and energy for their clear articulation than simple syllables do. Trying to force the organs to articulate such combination all at once, is discord. Trying to dispose of a long vowel in the same time as a short one gives a disagreeable feeling of effort and failure. The ancients founded their system on the principles of complete agreement between the articulative effort put forth and the natural requirements of the syllable (together with the other principle (*e*) that the movements of articulation should be in harmony with the thought and feeling—that the sound should be an echo to the sense). Hence the softness and easy flow of syllables generally attained by them.

Modern metrical practice differs in this: it is 'founded on what is called 'accent,' (used in a sense which has nothing to do with accent in the original sense of the word). It assigns stress conventionally to certain syllables without regard to their natural quantity;" *i.e.* stress is fixed by 'accent' artificially, and without regard to the harshness which results from trying to enunciate complex syllables, as if they were simple ones. This is not so much felt in prose where harmony is not expressly aimed at, but it is a difficulty which the poet feels and does his best to overcome (*e.g.*, Milton).

II

But the harmony of language has to be considered under the two forms under which language is used, *viz.*, prose and verse.

Harmony in Prose.—prose rhythm. The speaker and prose writer thinks mainly of finding words to express his thoughts. His words may fall into series which are more or less harmonious, but this is in most cases by chance merely; he does not think of the rhythm of the words he is going to use. But in some minds the association between thought and language is so close, that harmony of thought passes spontaneously into harmony of language; and their language becomes rhythmical,—a "long majestic march and energy divine" probably without any effort or intention of their own. Such harmonies occur frequently,—as has often been pointed out—in the prose of Sidney, Milton, Jeromy Taylor and Sir Thomas Browne, and more recently in the works of De Quincy and Ruskin. Prose harmony has been treated fully by Prof. Saintsbury in his work on *Prose Rhythm*. The following may be taken as example of prose rhythm;

But man | is a noble | animal | splendid in | ashes and | pompous |
in the grave | solemni|zing nativ|ities and | deaths | with | equal |
lusture | nor omit|ting cer|emonies | of bra|very in | the inf|amy
of | his na|ture.

Here the pleasing flow of the voice through anapaests and dactyles with occasional iambuses, trochees and tribrachs, is unmistakable.

Harmony in Verse.—But harmony of language is a need too strongly felt by many minds, to be left wholly to chance. Consequently an art has been devised to supply the need. This is the art of versification (if it can justly be called an art—some say that it is not art but nature).

Why should poetry be in verse? *What is a poem?* Much has been said about the use of versification; why should poetry be written in verse? Verse is certainly not necessary. Poetry is the expression of a certain kind of thought and feeling, and the simple and direct way of expressing thought, even when poetical, is by prose, and poetry consists essentially in the thought expressed and not in the way of expressing it. And it is not to be denied that much good poetry is to be found in prose. Why then should it be put into verse? Various reasons have been suggested, but the simplest one is sufficient in itself: poetry is harmony of thought; therefore its most suitable expression is harmony of language. A poem consists of one fundamental idea developing itself into a system of related ideas, and making all these contributory ideas harmonize (co-operate as it were) with one another and with the fundamental idea, in such a way as to form one organic whole of thought and feeling—as in music all the tones are so co-ordinated as to combine in giving expression to the fundamental *motif* of the piece. Therefore in poetry the versification adds the supplementary harmony of language enhancing and completing the fundamental harmony of thought and feeling of which the poem is the embodiment. When a poem is sung, the music of the voice and instrument supplement and reinforce the harmony of the language, giving deeper expression to the thought and feeling of the poem. (Carlyle was fully justified in describing poetry as music, though he had himself but little feeling for real music). But there is this difference, the language is so closely associated with the thought as to be almost identical with it, and therefore its natural expression, while the harmony of the music is adventitious and inessential. It is true nevertheless that such (apparently adventitious) harmonies may sometime express better the feeling of the poem than its language itself does (which strikes one in the case of many Scots airs).

Versification, then, is an art which makes the language of a poem more harmonious in itself, and therefore more in keeping with the thought and feeling of which the poem is the embodiment. And this will be accomplished by carrying out to the utmost the conditions of harmony referred to above, making such an arrangement of stressed and unstressed syllables, and a distribution of rests as will promote a rhythmical flow of articulating activity without friction or obstruction;—making the effect of the whole to be in keeping with feeling expressed.

Ancient methods of describing verses—feet, metre numbers. Therefore it was found convenient to mark the different harmonious combinations of stressed and unstressed, long and short, syllables, and call them feet or metres (measures); and to mark the main rests in the flow of articulation (which are at the same time distinct series of feet) by dividing it into lines (numbers). It was found also that harmony can be further promoted by making the same series of feet, and clauses of the same length (lines), recur periodically, making strophés or stanzas.

Thus versification was founded originally on the quantity of syllables measured by time and stress. Stress fell on those syllables which could not be easily articulated without it—consonantal syllables which naturally required more time for clear articulation. Modern languages have found it convenient to adopt a conventional system of accentuation by which stress is allotted to syllables, generally, without regard to their natural complexity and difficulty. This led to the introduction of rhyme.

Rhyme.—This comparative effacement of real quantity as the main source of poetic harmony, made it necessary for poets to find a substitute. The varying proportions of feet and clauses as fixed by conventional accent merely, was not a thing to impress itself sufficiently on the majority of hearers and readers; something was wanted which would make the difference between verse and prose sufficiently obvious to all. Now there was something naturally striking and pleasing in the periodical repetition of the same articulations. Such repetition was found in alliteration or recurrence of the same consonant at the beginnings of words, and this was adopted as the main distinguishing mark in early English and Norse poetry, and is still resorted to occasionally for particular effects (as *e.g.*, by Swinburne especially). Assonance, or recurrence of the same vowel in the last syllable of successive lines, was adopted in early Spanish poetry. But these artifices were not sufficiently obvious, and came to be regarded as barbarous or childish (as they were, by the ancients). Therefore after a time they were completely superseded by "a jingle of like endings" too obvious to be missed by any ear, *viz.*, rhyme—the repetition of the same syllable (at least one vowel and one consonant) at the ends of lines. These repetitions could be arranged in various orders—successive in couplets, alternate in quatrains, octaves, etc., and could be adopted to lines of various lengths. To be sure rhyme was useless apart from the older harmonies of stress and rest; but supplemented them agreeably, and yielded a new kind of harmony obvious to all. Indeed in some languages, *e.g.*, French, verse has been found impossible without it.

Revival of unrhymed verse in Italy, England and Germany.—Nevertheless the everpresent examples of the ancient purely quantitative metres, with their variety of refined harmonies without rhyme, led some to regard rhyme as an extraneous addition to verse—"a vulgar artifice to conceal badness of metre and poverty of thought." Therefore blank verse of a kind was soon resorted to by English play-writers, at first in its easiest form—the usual 10 syllabled iambic line with the pause at the end. Though Marlowe produced many "high-stepping" lines of this form, it was soon felt to be too facile, and also too monotonous. Fletcher and Shakespeare (in his later plays) introduced the art of varying the numbers by pauses within the lines. And afterwards Milton adopted this method in his great epic, but improved upon it and elaborated a versification founded on accent (quantity, as far as possible) and numbers (clauses of different lengths) and produced metrical effects beyond the reach of rhyme. Rhymeless verse has been attempted in lyrical poems also, but with less general acceptance—the best examples being Milton's translation of a small ode of Horace (perhaps the best translation ever made from that poet), Collins's Horatian *Ode to Evening* and M. Arnold's *Rugby Chapel* (in a *quasi* glyconic metre suggested perhaps by Goethe), and some highly successful short pieces by Tennyson. These fine poems have the unavoidable defect that the stress required by the language (accent) does not coincide always with the natural quantity of the syllables, entailing some harshness. But in the hands of such masters of harmony as these, the defect is not greatly felt.

The stanza, choral hymn and ode.—The highest effort of Greek lyrical poetry was the choral hymn, which consisted of several metrical paragraphs called strophés (turnings, from the backward and forward movements of the chorus) composed of lines of different lengths and metres, varied in keeping with the varying thought and feeling of the poem—the metre depending wholly on quantity. English poets have often adopted this strophic form of varying paragraphs. Poems of this form have usually been called *Odes* (though not often really such, as the ode is properly a lyrical address to some one, like the odes of Horace.) But, along with their accentual (or imperfectly quantitative) metre, they have always adopted rhyme. Some of the highest efforts of English poetry are of this originally choral form (though not usually meant to be sung by choruses like the Greek hymn), *e.g.* Dryden's and Pope's poems on *St. Cecilia's Day*, Gray's *Poesy*, Collins's *Passions*, Coleridge's *France* (often pronounced the best English *ode*), Wordsworth's *Childhood* and *Duty*, and Tennyson's *Wellington* and *Lotus Eaters* (see various collections of '*Odes*').

But most poets, not aiming at things so high as the choral hymn, prefer short stanzas of rhyming lines constantly recurring in the same form—the iambic being the favourite foot in the modern languages, though in English and German the anapaestic is occasionally used.

Spenserian.—Among the stanzas used in English, the most remarkable is that invented by Spenser—a stanza of 12 rhyming lines, but with the rhymes so intertwined as to have the unity of a stanza. Such complex and lengthy stanzas might appear unsuitable for narrative poetry, each being a little whole in itself; but Spenser and Byron have succeeded in giving them the continuity of narrative.

The sonnet and its conditions.—An example of a strophé or stanza used as a seperate poem, is the sonnet. Its form of 14 lines, rhyming always in the same way, might seem arbitrary and artificial. Why 14 lines and why always these rhymes? What peculiar merit does this combination possess? Is it altogether arbitrary? The explanation is to be found in the origin of the poem. The mediaeval Provencal and Italian versifiers tried all different forms of verse-making; among others, they tried to make forms of verse which would correspond to movements and to music. Our ballad was originally the ballata (ballade)—a combination of lines and rhymes adapted to dance-music (see imitations of French *Ballades*, etc., by Lang, Gosse and others in a volume of the Scott Library and Rossetti's Ballade of *Dead Ladies*). Similarly, the sonnet was meant to be an imitation in verse of a short piece of music (sonata, sonetto—diminutive) in which the sounds went on accumulating for a moment and then died gradually away in a dying close, like echoes in the distance. This rising of the sound to full blast was reproduced, it was thought, by the rhymes, *abba*, *abba*, and its dying away, by the echo-like repetition of the same rhyme in 6 closing lines, *c d*, *c d*, *c.d*, (compare Tennysons's poem, "*The splendour falls.*"). But the sonnet is for these reasons a difficult form, and is not always entirely successful. To attain its purpose fully it must be such that it can be read and grasped easily as one whole, by both mind and ear. For this purpose, the thought should be such as can be quickly comprehended without effort; in the otherwise finely constructed sonnets of Rossetti and Swinburne the thought is often so abstract as to make them heavy reading. For the same purpose, the lines have to be mostly end-stopt, otherwise the poem is in danger of being broken up into shapeless pieces—its unity lost—(a fault of the otherwise fine sonnets of Mrs. Browning). (This license is used, however, in some sonnets of Milton with good effect.) The effect is lost also when the original arrangement of rhymes is too far departed from. Shakespeare wrote many fine poems in 14 lines, but they consist merely of 3 separate quatrains followed by a couplet, so that the rhymes characteristic of the sonnet were entirely wanting; and the poems might as well have been of any other number of lines. It is the peculiar rhythm that makes the sonnet, and therhymes that make the rhythm. The sonnet suffers also when the poet closes it with a couplet. This breaks the flow of rhymes, and thereby the unity of the whole; and affects the reader somewhat as the sudden putting on of the brake does, when a carriage has been moving rapidly. This is perhaps the only fault to be found with the sonnet on *Night* by Blanco White, commonly pronounced the best in English. In Italian, German and French sonnets these conditions are observed universally. In England Milton and Wordsworth have adhered most fully to the conditions of the sonnet.

Ottava rima.—Another lengthy and rather difficult stanza is the *octave rhyme* taken from the Italian language in which rhyming is easy. The rapidly running rhymes and the final couplet, affording an opportunity for some closing commentary—jest or epigram—make it suitable for humorous composition. Hence it was used in the humorous epics of the Italians (Boiardo, Pulci, Ariosto, Berni, etc.) and was adopted from them, by Byron, and used by him with extraordinary dexterity in his humorous poems, on which his reputation as a poet mainly rests.

General harmony between style and subject: Milton and the "grand style." The above are the most prominent forms of harmony which enter into the making of poems. But there is another kind which is more difficult to define and describe. In great poems we expect to find a general correspondence between the style of the poem as a whole and the fundamental feeling and purpose of the poet. Milton took up the most serious and elevated subject that could be undertaken by any man. It was to be expected, therefore, that the style of his work as a whole would be in harmony with the "high seriousness" of his subject—that it would be pervaded throughout by a tone of solemnity and grandeur—in short that it should be in the grand style, such as that in which Homer celebrated the traditional heroes of the Greek race, and Virgil, the majesty of Rome. Milton aimed at this, and it is generally admitted that he was successful. He considered the modern art of rhyme to be an extrneous ornament, too trifling and artificial for the dignity of his subject, and adopted a style of blank verse which had the iambic pentameter for its basis, seeking variety occasionally by the introduction of other feet, but mainly by an artful distribution of clauses by means of pauses and rests. These had the effect of supplementing the fundamental pentameter movement by a variety of other numbers—8 syllabled (of which he seems rather fond), 6 syllabled, 4 syllabled and others (see examples). Such variations on the fundamental metre were usually fitted specially to the thought of the passage, and gave to his composition additional expressiveness, as well as dignity and variety. Many have used pentameter blank verse besides Milton, but none has succeeded in drawing from it the same "organ harmony" which Milton has drawn (apart, perhaps, from a few short passages which Wordsworth has dropt here and there, apparently without intention).

Wordsworth and the 'popular' style.—Wordsworth's purpose in general was to remove from poetry the artificial ornaments and inflated verbiage with which it had come to be vitiated, and to show that the highest poetry could be, and would gain by being, expressed in the language of common life, duly refined. Why? Because poetry, he said, was nothing artificial, but was the natural expression of those kinds of thought and feeling which are deepest and most essential in human nature. It should therefore be expressed in no artificial 'poetic diction,' but in the language which is most natural to human beings. Hence he has tried to give expression to the deepest thought in a style of homely simplicity.

Byron and the cynical style.—Byron was successful in giving his whole poem of *Harold* an atmosphere of gloom and despondency in keeping with the feeling of world-sorrow, or disappointment with the world, which he meant to express: and in this he was aided by the Spencerian stanza which certainly lends itself to lyric feeling more than to narrative; but more especially so, in making the Italian octave, with its fitness for banter and epigram, expressive of the contempt which he affected, for the world andeverything in it.

Scott and the rapid style.—A good example of harmony between style and thought is to be found (descending perhaps into a lower sphere) in the poetry of Scott. Scott was a cripple, and his own power of movement was limited. Yet in his own mind he lived a life of restless action and he has put this into his poems; for the style of his poems expresses as well as could be, the rush and tumult of active life, the rapture of strife and struggle. Contrasting his own style with the more restful style of Jane Austen's tales he wrote, "I myself can do the light cavalry style." This description is humorous to be sure, but nothing could describe better the rush of action which pervades all his poems. Wordsworth took up a similar subject in his *White Doe*, but meant to express, not the glory of action, but the sadness and pity of misfortune, and the style is in keeping with this motive.

III

What has been said above about metres and especially the difference between the ancient purely quantitative and the modern "accentual" forms requires some illustration by examples.[1]

Ancient metre based on quantity.—In speaking of classical metre it may be well to begin by quoting the epigram of Coleridge (from Schiller) which both describes and exemplifies the classical hexameter and pentameter metres:

In xameter | rises the | fountain's | silvery | column,

In pen | tāmeter | aye | falling in | melody | back.

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[1] It may be well to recount here the names and signs of the metrical feet commonly used. The foot most commonly used in English verse is the iambus, indicated by the sign ◡—. The others most used are the anapaest ◡ ◡—; the spondee——; and the dactyle—◡ ◡. The English pentameter and hexameter consist of 5 and 6 iambuses. The classical hexameter also consists of 6 feet but they are spondees and dactyles, the last two feet being always dactyle and spondee; the other 4, either dactyles or spondees according to the requirements of the subject.

Here the only faults against quantity are the *r r* in the first line, and the *n m* in the second line, both in unstressed syllables; but, being liquids, they give little or no difficulty, so that the lines are fairly correct examples of classical metre.

But it will serve the purpose better to take some examples of Latin hexameters, and then compare some attempts to reproduce the same metre in English.

In the following, Horace is referring to the foolish person who on coming to a rapid river thought he might wait until it had run past, but the river goes streaming and rolling on through all time.

Rusticus | expect | at dum | defluat | amnis at | ille
Labitur | et lāb | etur in | omne vol | ūbilis | aevūm.

Here it can be seen, time and stress fall naturally on vowels which are naturally long and on syllables ending in two or more consonants so that the reader is not compelled to struggle with a mouthfull of consonants, nor to slur painfully over any long vowel. In the second line describing the river, the liquid flow of the syllables could not be surpassed.

Virgil playfully tells the cultivator that he will have to follow his instructions if he hope to maintain worthily the glory of country places where the Gods would delight to dwell:

Omnia | quae mul | to ante me|mor pro|visa rep|ones
Si te | digna ma|net di | vini | gloria | ruris.

we notice in the first line the difficulty caused by the tus *o ant*, but this is relieved by the soft music of the ond line.

Dealing with the sack of a city, he describes the horror the scene in short throb-like clauses, summing up the whole in a climax of three words—victors and vanquished fal together—everywhere agony; everywhere terror; and sight of death in countless forms.

Victo | resque ca | dunt Dana | i cru | delis u | bique
Luctus; u | bique pa | vor; et | plurima | mortis i | mag

Here in the first line however there is the difficult combination, *untd*, which is difficult to articulate with time and stre as here, and would be impossible without them.

Attempts to combine classical metres with the modern accentual system.—Many German and some English poets hav tried to revive the ancient hexameter in modern verse. Th difficulty arises from the modern indifference to quantity o syllables in its proper sense, and the substitution of a conventional "accent." In this way stress is made to fall on syllable which could easily be pronounced without it, while compl and difficult syllables have to be hurried over, without time a this requires a disagreeable effort on the part of the reader, an stress. The following lines are modern hexameters in which th stress is fixed by conventional accent, and not determined b the difficulty of the syllables themselves. Hence some difficul syllables have to be hurried over without stress, and this makes some lines harsh and difficult to read.

This will be seen from the following lines taken from *Evangeline*, the most successful English poem in classica hexameters:

1. This is the | forest prim | eval. The | murmuring |
and the | hem

2. Bearded with | moss and in | garments | green in
inct in the | twil